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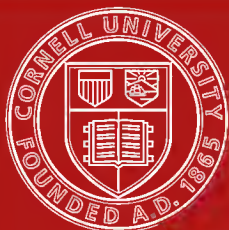
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King Richard II

A New Quarto



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T H E

Tragedy of King Richard II

Printed for the third time by Valentine

Simmes in 1598. Reproduced in

facsimile from the unique

copy in the library of

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS WHITE

With an Introduction by

ALFRED W. POLLARD



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INTRODUCTION

THE text of Shakespeare's *King Richard II* here reproduced in facsimile is that of a Quarto of 1598, identified by Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett as belonging to an edition quite distinct from the one of that year already known. The original, which is believed to be unique, is preserved in the library of Mr. W. A. White of New York, by whose liberality it is now rendered available for study by any one interested in the bibliography of Shakespeare and the relations of the early Quartos and First Folio edition of his plays. The First Quarto of *Richard II* was printed in 1597, and is one of the rarest of the early editions, the only copies recorded being those in the Capell Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, the Devonshire Collection, which passed last year into the possession of Mr. Huntington of New York, and the library of Mr. Alfred Huth, from which, under the terms of a right to claim any fifty books, generously conferred on the British Museum in his will, it passed to the national library in 1911 along with the, also very rare, first editions of *King Richard III* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The 1597 edition of *Richard II* was 'Printed by Valentine Simmes for Androw Wise', and, by a combination of carelessness and care on the part of the printer, each of the three extant copies of it may be called unique, leaves A4 recto, B1 verso, B3 verso, B4 recto, C1 recto, C2 verso, D1 recto, I1 recto, I3 recto, each existing in two states, one of which is more correct than the other. 'Printing off' at the end of the sixteenth century being

still a slow business, there was ample time for mistakes to be discovered, whether by chance or deliberate scrutiny, when only a part of the number of copies required had been worked, and the pressmen would then be told to stop until the error was corrected.¹ Occasionally a printer might be conscientious enough to treat the sheet on which the error had been discovered as waste. But if many copies had been printed, this was expensive, and Valentine Sims (I prefer the shorter form of his name), who held no high rank in his craft, saved his money and only introduced the corrections into the copies which had still to be worked. All the copies of each sheet, 'corrected' and 'uncorrected', would then be hung up to dry, and when the drying was completed they would be taken down in any order and copies of the book made up with such proportions of corrected and uncorrected sheets as chance might dictate. So it comes about that the 'Devonshire' (now the Huntington) copy has two (A and D) of the uncorrected sheets and three corrected (B, which shows ten out of a total of seventeen variants, C, and I); the Huth (now the British Museum) copy has the corrected sheets A C D and the uncorrected B and I; the Capell has the four sheets A B C D uncorrected and only sheet I corrected. When the early Quartos were being reproduced under Dr. Furnivall's supervision in photolithography both the Huth copy

¹ The co-existence of correct and incorrect readings in different copies of the same edition, might arise in an Elizabethan printing-house in a directly opposite way to that assumed in the present case, viz. by the pressman catching up individual letters with his inking balls, when he was inking one side of a sheet, and then replacing them wrongly. It is possible that one or more of the different readings in the First Quarto may have been caused in this way, but the majority are certainly due to correction of mistakes originally made by the compositor, and it is simpler to assume that all are of this kind.

(in 1888) and the Devonshire (in 1890) were reproduced, in order that students might see for themselves whether any more variants could be discovered.

The publisher of the 1597 Quarto of *Richard II* was Androw (or Andrew) Wise, who entered it as 'his copy' in the Register of the Stationers' Company on August 29 of that year. The object of this entry was to prevent any other member of the Company, which (save for a little competition from Oxford and Cambridge) controlled the whole English book trade, from printing or publishing a rival edition. It was usual for every book to be entered 'under the hands' or 'by appointment' of either one or both of the Wardens of the Stationers' Company, or of some important person (more especially the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London) entrusted with the task of censorship, or a deputy appointed by them. The Archbishop of Canterbury in regard to the Stationers' Company, acted as the external and extraordinary authority to whom was committed the duty of seeing that the domestic and ordinary authorities, in this case the Master and Wardens, managed the affairs of the Company in accordance with the terms of its charter. It is possible, though by no means clear, that when a book was entered under the hands of the wardens, the wardens were recognized as acting as the Archbishop's deputies. In any case, everything connected with printing and publishing was under the supervision of the Privy Council, to whom complaint might be made of any injury sustained, and whose powers were extremely wide. A company of business men had the strongest reasons for avoiding collision with such an authority, and it is quite plain from its whole history that the Company of Stationers was an especially dutiful and submissive body, ready to coerce any of its individual members rather than face collective disfavour.

All this is here recited as creating a strong presumption that such an entry as we have in this case

Andrew Wise. Entred for his Copie by appoyntment from master Warden Man The Tragedy of Richard the Second— vj^d.¹

was not precluded by a disreputable transaction in which Wise filched a manuscript copy of the play with the aid of some dishonest confederate, or sent shorthand writers to the theatre to take down the speeches, as best they could, from the actors' mouths; but that he obtained his text honestly and straightforwardly by a money payment to the company of players known as the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, to which Shakespeare belonged, and to which he must have sold the rights in his play.

The view here stated is set forth at length in a monograph by the present writer on *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (Methuen, 1909). Without repeating *in extenso* the arguments there used, it may be noted that a body of men who had a high official like the Lord Chamberlain as their protector could have had no reason whatever to submit to systematic and open pilfering by members of the Stationers' Company, and was indeed exactly the sort of body with whom the Company would be loath to become embroiled; that at two particular periods, about 1594 and again in 1600, the number of plays entered on the Stationers' Register is so great as to preclude belief in their having been obtained from any other source than the only one which could supply them in quantities, i.e. the Companies of Players who owned them; that the texts of the plays regularly entered on the Stationers' Register, taking them as a class, are too good to have been pieced together from reports of shorthand writers or actors' 'parts' surreptitiously obtained;

¹ The usual fee for registration.

and lastly, that there are sufficient plays *not* regularly entered on the Stationers' Register and with bad texts, some of them showing clear evidence of having been obtained from reporters, to account for the complaints of piracy by Thomas Heywood and for the reference to 'stolne and surreptitious' copies in Heminge and Condell's preface to the Folio of 1623, which has been quoted *ad nauseam* by later editors and uncritically applied to all the Quartos, including those of which the copyright was vested in 1623 in some of the very men who were engaged in the production of the First Folio, and who are thus represented as discrediting their own property.

Holding the views thus indicated, the present writer has no doubt that Andrew Wise obtained his 'copy' in *King Richard II* quite honestly by purchase from the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, and there is also no room for doubt that Wise made a very good bargain, not only in this case, but in that of *King Richard III*, which he 'entered for his copy' in the following October. The omission of the author's name from the title-pages of both plays is good evidence that in 1597 Shakespeare's reputation was still not very great, and we may thus be pretty sure that permission to print them was obtained at quite small prices. On the other hand *Richard II* was reprinted in 1598 (twice), 1608, and 1615, and *Richard III* in 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612, and 1622. Both plays, together with *The First Part of King Henry IV*, and two other works, were transferred by Andrew Wise to Mathew Lawe on June 25, 1603, by the following entry in the Stationers' Register :

Mathew Lawe. Entred for his copies in full courte Holden
this Day: These fyve copies folowyng
viz. ii. vjd.

ii) Enterludes or plays

The first is of Richard the .3.

b

The second of Richard the .2.

The third of Henry the .4. the first part. all kinges.

Item master Doctor Plafordes sermons

Item a thing of no man can be hurt but by hym self.

All whiche by consent of the Company are sett over to him
from Andrew Wyse.

We now know that before thus transferring his copyright Wise had produced not two but three editions of *King Richard II*, and that this play is thus the only one of Shakespeare's which enjoyed the distinction of passing through three editions in less than two years.

The edition of 1598 now discovered differs on its title-page from that of the same year already recorded only by three small omissions in the imprint, the commas after 'Simmes' and 'churchyard' and the e in 'folde'. A mere title-page bibliographer might have been content to claim it on this ground as of a 'different issue' (a term often very vaguely used). Fortunately Miss Bartlett was of sterner stuff and did not rest until she had satisfied herself that it exhibited differences on every page, and that the text, in fact, was entirely reset.

The first question which confronts us is as to whether the two editions dated 1598 are independent texts, or whether one is printed from the other, and if so which is the earlier. That they are not independent texts is easily proved. In order not to prejudge the position of the newly discovered (or newly differentiated) Quarto we will call it W, after Mr. White, assigning the letter A to the Quarto of 1597, B to the already known Quarto of 1598, C to that of 1608, D to that of 1615, and F to the Folio. To show that B and W are not independent it will suffice to quote a few palpable errors in which they agree as compared with A.

In 1. i. 60 the 1597 edition (A) reads

I do defie him, and I spit at him,

while both B and W omit the second 'I', thus making the line unmetrical.

Similarly in 1. iii. 117 A reads correctly

Sound trumpets, and fet forward Combatants :

whereas B and W both again spoil the metre by substituting 'forth' for 'forward'.

In l. 141 of the same scene Richard banishes Hereford

Till twice fve summers haue enricht our fields :

B and W both substitute the singular 'field', which could not be used as a synonym for a kingdom.

In 1. iii. 234 we come upon another line metrical in A,

Thy sonne is banisht vpon good aduise,

unmetrical in B and W, which both substitute 'with' for 'vpon'.

Lastly (for there is no need to multiply examples in this preliminary examination) the well-known couplet (II. i. 12, 13),

The setting Sunne, and Musike at the clofe,

As the last taste of sweetes is sweetest last,

correctly printed in A, is spoilt in both B and W by the unhappy substitution of 'glofe' for 'clofe', one compositor having caught the word from the end of line 10 ('Than they whom youth and ease haue taught to glofe') and the other, as we must believe, having blindly followed him. The odds against two compositors having made a series of errors of this kind independently are incalculably great, and we may take it as certain that B and W were not both derived directly from A, but that one must have been set up from the other.

Although it will not help us very much in determining

whether B or W was the earlier, we may now quote a few of the readings found in W and not in B which reappear in the Quartos of 1608 and 1615 (called here C and D), and thereby prove that C was directly set up from W and not from B.

In 1. i. 24 on A2 verso, we find the foolish misprint 'in' for 'an' in the line

Adde in immortall title to your Crowne

occurring first in W, and slavishly repeated by C and D.

In 1. iii. 72, on B2 verso, W, followed by C and D, has the line

To reach a victorie aboue my head,

where A and B correctly read 'at' instead of 'a'.

In 1. iii. 86, on B3 recto, W originates a palpable error by printing

There lies or dies true to King Richards throne,

where A and B rightly read 'liues' instead of 'lies'.

In 1. iii. 187, W is responsible for the introduction of an equally unhappy mistake, reading

This louing tempest of your home-bred hate,

'louing' being a misprint for the 'lowring' of A and B.

For our last instance we may take a double-barrelled one from 1. iv. 5-8, where W prints

King. And say, what store of parting teares were shed?

Aum. Faith none for me, except the Northeaft winde,

Which then blew bitterly against our face,

Awakt the sleepeie rhowme,

the substitution of 'face' for 'faces' and of 'sleepeie' for 'sleeping' being in each case an obvious falling off from the correct readings given in A and followed by B.

On the other hand, in 1. iii. 241 and 11. i. 156 we have two cases in which W is followed by C in readings which

we can be sure are right, where B is wrong, but these have no evidential value because they can be explained in two different ways. These readings occur in two of the seventeen lines in which two variant readings, one correct, the other incorrect, are found in different copies of the First Quarto. In thirteen of these seventeen lines B has the corrected readings, in four the incorrect. Now W has all the thirteen corrected readings that B has and two others, 'fought' for 'ought' in 1. iii. 241 and 'kernes' for 'kerne' in 11. i. 156. If we regard these as corrections, they are both of the kind which we shall classify as 'obvious', i.e. which any one may make at any time without external authority; but if W was printed direct from A, it may have been printed from a copy of A which had the two leaves, C1 recto and D1 recto, on which these lines occur, in the corrected form. This is very unlikely, as W agrees with B¹ in having the uncorrected reading 'With reuerence' for 'What reuerence' in 1. iv. 27 on C2 verso, and as this page would be printed with the same pull as C1 recto, we should have to suppose that the press was stopped twice for correction, during the printing of this sheet, instead of once. It is easier to suppose that the two simple corrections were made by W independently; but as an alternative explanation is possible, no argument can be founded on them.

Simply from the errors introduced by W any one used to the examination of the sequence of Elizabethan editions will be left in little doubt as to its relations with B. But we have as yet no absolute proof. Our

¹ The other page on which B has the incorrect reading is A4 recto (f. i. 139: 'Ah but' for 'But'). It was therefore set up from a copy of the First Quarto which had sheets A C D uncorrected and the rest corrected.

simple dilemma, that either B was printed from W, or W from B, has now become the more complex alternative that

either (i) B was printed from W, with the correction of fairly numerous misprints, and C went back to the hypothetically earlier W, ignoring the corrections introduced by B,

or (ii) W was printed from B, fairly numerous additional misprints being introduced in the process, and C was printed from W, on this hypothesis its immediate chronological predecessor.

It might easily have been necessary to base our preference for the second of these alternatives on the unlikelihood that whereas B of 1598 introduces many more new misprints than corrections into A of 1597, and C of 1608 more new misprints than corrections into W of 1598, and D of 1615 more new misprints than corrections into C of 1608, as between the two editions of 1598 the process was reversed. Fortunately, however, we are saved from such an anticipation of the results of our examination of the relations of all the Quartos of *King Richard II*, by the existence of two passages in which it seems clear that a line correctly printed by A was first spoilt by B and then tinkered at by W.

The earlier of these instances is the last line of the passage i. i. 73-7 (on leaf A₃ verso) :

If guiltie dread haue left thee so much strength,
As to take vp mine honours pawne, then stowpe :
By that, and all the rites of Knighthood else,
Will I make good against thee arme to arme,
What I haue spoke, or what thou canst deuife.

The last line scans, and that is about all that can be said for it. The only meaning which can be attached to it is that Bolingbroke was ready to make good not

only what he himself had said, but anything his adversary could devise, a readiness which would show an indifference to the subject of the quarrel no less complete than his confidence in his own strength. In A the line reads :

What I haue fpoke, or thou canft worfe deuife.

Even here Bolingbroke appears willing to fight to prove the truth of something which is not quite true, for if Mowbray gives a worse meaning to something he has spoken, he is apparently ready to make good not merely what he actually said, but the worse meaning which Mowbray might give it, in order, by distorting the accusation, to escape from it. This is not a reasonable attitude, but it supplies a better meaning than the other, and the position of 'worse' in the line is very Shakespearian. How did the line as it stands in A become the line as it stands in W ? The answer seems clear : by way of the intermediate reading of B, which omitted 'worse', thus producing the unmetrical line,

What I haue fpoke or thou canft deuife.

which the printer's 'reader', when correcting the proofs of W, obviously botched by repeating 'what' before 'thou', thus saving the scansion, though with rather a wooden result. If this is so, B must clearly come between A and W, and W therefore must have been set up from it.

Our second passage is from *II. i. 17 sqq.*, and may most easily be set forth by starting with the text as given in A. John of Gaunt, in the fine speech beginning 'Oh but they fay, the tongues of dying men, Inforce attention like deepe harmony', has expressed his belief :

Though Richard my liues counsell would not heare,
My deaths sad tale may yet vndeafe his eare.

The Duke of York answers, according to A :

No, it is stopt with other flattering foundes,
As praifes of whose taste the wife are found
Lasciuious meeters, to whose venome found
The open eare of youth doth alwayes listen,
Report of fashions in proude Italie, etc.

Modern editors seem agreed that in the second of these lines 'found' is a misprint for 'fond', the 'u' easily creeping in from the compositor's eye being caught either by 'foundes' in the line above or by 'found' in the line below, while that Shakespeare should have made three successive lines end in 'foundes', 'found', and 'found' is almost unthinkable. Adding either a comma or a semi-colon after 'fond', we then have York telling his brother that the king's ear is stopped with other sounds than good advice, flattering sounds such as praises, of the taste of which [even] wise men are fond, or lascivious metres, or talk of Italian fashions.

Already disfigured by the superfluous u in 'found' and the omission of a comma, the unlucky line is further transformed in B by the initial 't' and tied 'ft' in 'taste' changing places, the word being thus transformed into 'fstate', and the line reading :

As praifes of whose fstate the wife are found.

The proof-reader of B was content to let this pass, though what meaning he attached to it can hardly be guessed. What we find in W is

No, it is stopt with other flattering sounds,
As praifes of his fstate : then there are found
Lasciuious Meeters, to whose venom found
The open eare of youth doth alwaies listen, &c.

Taking 'found' once more to be a misprint for 'fond' we can interpret this as an assertion that Richard's ears

are occupied with listening to praises of his magnificence, and that besides these there are foolish wanton songs, &c. In this form the line was repeated in the Quartos of 1608 and 1615 and the Folio of 1623, and with the correction of 'found' into 'fond' it has been accepted by some modern editors. We may criticize the acceptance of such readings later on. For the moment all we need emphasize is that the reading of W appears to be an attempt to put some meaning into the line as altered by the substitution of 'state' for 'taste' by B, and is not directly derived from the text of A. Assuredly we cannot imagine any proof-reader with the line as printed by W before him changing it back into the form given in B. Therefore we can claim quite positively that W must have been printed from B and not B from W, i.e. the Quarto in Mr. White's hands is the second edition of the two printed in 1598, and takes third place in the complete sequence A B W C D F.¹ This was the position assigned to it by Miss Henrietta Bartlett, and it is a pleasure to me to find myself in agreement with the discoverer, or identifier, of this edition.

The position of the newly discovered, or newly differentiated, Quarto being thus established, it might suffice for the purposes of this introduction to set forth the new readings in which it differs from B and to follow the fate which befell them in the reprints of 1608 and 1615 and

¹ The foregoing argument may be called literary. If a typographical one be preferred it is offered by the changes in II. iii. 117. In A this reads quite clearly

You are my father, for me thinkes in you
I see old Gaunt aliue.

In B the f in 'for' is so broken away that only a thin ridge representing part of the back is visible. In W the f is omitted, 'or' taking the place of 'for'. The omission of the f in W is thus explained by the compositor having overlooked the small fragment of one in B.

in the Folio of 1623. But *King Richard II* was the first genuine play by Shakespeare to obtain the honour of print after having been duly entered in the Stationers' Register ; it was printed, as we now know, no fewer than five times in quarto ; a passage of considerable length was introduced for the first time in the edition of 1608, and the Quarto of 1615 is generally asserted to have been used, though with many corrections, in setting up the text of the Folio of 1623. In his previous essay, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, the present writer has pleaded that the merits of each Quarto text, and the character for honesty or dishonesty which may be assigned to it, should be considered separately, and judgement passed according to the evidence in each case. In that essay it seemed wiser to quote the independent textual verdicts of the editors of the Facsimile Quartos issued under the superintendence of Dr. Furnivall, than to put forward the results of a personal investigation, lest it should be suspected that the critical evidence was being marshalled so as to fit in as neatly as possible with pre-arranged bibliographical theories. But having put forward a purely bibliographical plea for a fairer treatment of the Quartos, it seems reasonable to see if any results can be obtained from a personal examination of all the editions of one of the plays first printed in quarto, and for the reasons given above *King Richard II* seems the right play with which to start. This is offered as a plea in mitigation if any one is inclined to censure this introduction as needlessly elaborate.

It may perhaps be as well to preface our survey by a frank warning that not too much must be expected to result from it. There is a point of view, indeed, from which the occasion from which we start, the discovery of a new Shakespeare Quarto intermediate between two

earlier and two later ones, is a pure misfortune—another link in a useless chain, already too long. Unless it can be shown—and we can hold out no such hope—that the printer of such an intermediate edition had access to some manuscript text by which to correct the errors of his predecessors, we must own that the best he could try to do was by using his mother-wit in a rough and ready way as an editor to eliminate some of these errors, and himself to introduce as few new ones as possible. In other words, he could not substantially improve the text he was reprinting, and he might make it worse. Not only might he make it worse, but, as is already well known, and as our survey will make clear, he did make it worse. Why, then, trouble about him and his reprints? The only texts which matter are those of the earliest Quarto, which must be derived, whether at first, second, or third hand, from the author's manuscript, and the text of the First Folio, which claims to have been based on the author's 'papers'. There is a considerable element of truth in the contention thus outlined. The only counterpleas which we can put forward are that the results for which we are seeking should be of use, not to the ordinary readers of Shakespeare, but to the rather numerous persons who undertake to edit his works, and secondly that in a modest way they may be found to possess a certain human and psychological interest of their own.

First, as regards the editor of Shakespeare, it is obviously his editorship's business to form some estimate of the textual value of the copy which was originally put into the printer's hands. Knowing that in his own case any copy which he sends to an average printer is usually returned to him in print with a very small percentage of errors, he is inclined to assume that because the text of an *editio princeps* is faulty, therefore the copy from which

it was printed must have been faulty also, therefore it was probably 'stolne and surreptitious', &c., &c., and therefore the text of the Folio is always to be preferred to it. As soon, however, as it becomes clear that an Elizabethan play could not be reprinted without the introduction of numerous fresh errors, it becomes clear also that an aggregate of first errors in an *editio princeps*, as long as it does not exceed the aggregate of additional errors first found in a reprint, allows us to believe that the manuscript from which the first edition was set up was textually very good indeed. The faultiness of the successive reprints thus becomes in a curiously inverted way a guarantee of the excellence of the manuscript which Andrew Wise was lucky enough to obtain.

A word may be interpolated here in extenuation of the inaccuracy of the Elizabethan printers in their dealings with plays. Let us remember that they worked in wooden houses in which the windows were very small and glazed with imperfectly transparent glass; that they worked long hours, probably at least eleven or twelve a day, which means not only that their powers of attention were often overstrained, but that much of their work must have been done by rushlight; that they had to deal with a text which even when there is no suspicion of corruption often puzzles professors, and finally that, when they could get it, they drank ale for breakfast and ale for dinner and ale for supper. No doubt the ale was small, but its effects may have been cumulative, as we are so often told is the case with the arguments which set out to prove that in his younger days Viscount Verulam wrote the plays with which we are concerned. Surely a generation which drinks tea and coffee and has workshops with large windows and electric light, and an eight-hour day, and has never to deal with any copy in the least resembling

the plays of Shakespeare, should not be too forward in despising these poor men. Nevertheless the fact remains that they did make mistakes and made them in quantities.

Despite the disadvantages we have suggested, the printers of the quartos occasionally, by setting up half a page or more without any divergence from the copy which they were told to follow, showed that accuracy was not wholly beyond their reach. For the most part, however, even when they faithfully reproduced the words of their text, they allowed themselves a free hand in their dealings with three matters which modern editors, with much saving of trouble to themselves, but some loss to their readers, have treated as negligible, viz. Spelling, Punctuation, and the use of emphasis Capitals in the initial letter of substantives. Something must be said as to each of these, as they all have some bearing on the history of the text.

As regards Spelling, the reader who dislikes the subject, because, while aware that our present system is from every reasonable standpoint indefensible, he is yet determined not to face the difficulties involved in any change, will be glad to hear that it need not detain us long. In the line (1. iii. 127) printed in the First Quarto as 'And for our eies do hate the dire aspect', the printer of B changed 'eies' into 'eyes'; the printer of W changed it back to 'eies'; in C it is once more 'eyes'; in D it is again 'eies'; finally, in the Folio, the see-saw comes to ground upon 'eyes'. Not one printer had resisted the temptation to vary from his predecessor, and in words, mostly adverbs or adjectives, now uniformly ending in -y there is a constant tendency to alternate between -y and -ie, as if merely for the pleasure of change. Variations of this kind may, of course, be written off. They are really negligible. At the opposite pole to these we find a few positive misspellings, such as 'formerly' for 'formally'

introduced by D into 1. iii. 29, or 'percullist' for 'portcullist', introduced by C into 1. iii. 167. These, like any other blunders, may be very useful for detective work, but are obviously not part of a system. There is no lack, however, of system in the spellings in these early quartos which modern editors are too often inclined to regard as merely eccentric or ignorant. Some of these spellings were due to the desire to preserve the old pronunciation when vowel-values were shifting, others to the desire to indicate what was believed to be the history of the word. We may regret both these desires and the changes to which they led, but no spelling which we find commonly adopted in other books of the day must be debited as an error against the individual printer who used it. It was no fault of his that rival phonetic devices for representing the same sound left their marks on different words, and that in many cases the battle as to what was to be the orthodox spelling of an individual word was not yet decided. It was often not so much lack of system as the clash of rival systems that led him into trouble. Moreover, we have to reckon with a further system, which may be called dramatic or poetic, which especially affected past participles, but left its traces also elsewhere. A dramatist had good reason to avoid past participles in -ed where he did not mean the last syllable to be sounded. The risk of having his lines mispronounced was great, and he rushed by preference into strange forms, such as 'slucte' for 'sluiced', or 'ragde' for 'ragged', which no printer would have invented.¹ In the same way we occasionally

¹ On the other hand it was so unusual in verbs ending in 'er' with past participles in 'ered' for the e to be pronounced both before and after r, that we find delivered, disordered, suffered, slaughtered, etc., printed out in full, where modern editors have thought fit to substitute deliver'd, disorder'd, suffer'd, slaughter'd, etc.

find the way to read a line indicated by the substitution of 'that's' for 'that is', or 'they'le' for 'they will', without any specially colloquial intention. But in all this there is nothing which at the present moment need detain us.

Punctuation is a much more important matter. If any reader of this introduction has not already mastered Mr. Percy Simpson's illuminating little tract, *Shakespearean Punctuation* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1911, pp. 107. Price 5s.), he is strongly advised to procure it at once and study it heedfully. In his Introduction Mr. Simpson writes :

It is a common practice at the present day to treat the punctuation of seventeenth-century books as beneath serious notice ; editors rarely allude to it, and if they do, they describe it as chaotic and warn the reader that they have been driven to abandon it. It seems to be imagined that the compositor peppered the pages promiscuously with any punctuation-marks that came to hand, and was lavish of commas because his stock of these was large. In other words, old printers—printers as a class—were grossly illiterate and careless ; the utmost that could be expected of them was that they should spell out their texts correctly ; nobody troubled about punctuation, not even the 'Corrector', who is referred to occasionally, for praise or the reverse, by writers of the time.

With good reason Mr. Simpson asks : ' Is it on *a priori* grounds likely that printers were more ignorant than the majority of their fellow men ? Could a human being endowed with reason serve an apprenticeship, work at the trade of printing all his life, and set up the type of book after book, without fathoming the inscrutable mystery of the comma and the full stop ? ' ' The fact is ', he says, ' that English punctuation has radically changed in the last three hundred years. Modern punctuation is, or at any rate attempts to be, logical ; the earlier system was

mainly rhythmical.' Later on he tells us : ' There is a second important difference between the old and the new systems. Modern punctuation is uniform ; the old punctuation was quite the reverse. It was natural that in the earlier stages of printing usage should be less settled, and it was certainly convenient for the printer. For the poet it was something more : a flexible system of punctuation enabled him to express subtle differences of tone.'

Finally Mr. Simpson reveals the main object of his little treatise to be the vindication of the punctuation of the First Folio :

The punctuation, which is usually regarded as the weakest point in the printing of the Folio, I believe to be on the whole sound and reasonable. It will help to a higher appreciation of the merits of this famous text if its claim to be regarded as correct in an elementary point of typography can be conclusively established. I have attempted to marshal the evidence, and I venture to submit the issue to the judgement of scholars. Was there, or was there not, a system of punctuation which old printers used ? Can the differences of this system be classified, and proved step by step by an accumulation of instances ? If so, we must do Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount and their workmen the justice to believe that they knew how to print.

In his text Mr. Simpson proceeds to ' marshal the evidence ' in forty-three sections, the character of which may be to some extent surmised from the headings of the first score of them :

Light stopping—Vocative followed but not preceded by a comma—Vocative without commas—Imperative without comma—Appositional phrase without comma—Comma marking a metrical pause—The emphasizing comma—Comma equivalent to a dash—Comma marking interrupted speech—Comma marking the logical subject—Comma marking off adverbial phrase or clause—Comma between accusative and dative—Comma between

object and complement—Comma before a noun clause—Comma before the ‘defining’ relative—Comma before ‘as’—Comma before ‘but’ (= ‘except’)—Comma before ‘than’—Comma before ‘and’, with no comma after—Comma before ‘or’ and ‘nor’, with no comma after, &c.

Mr. Simpson had one or two predecessors (notably Mr. A. E. Thiselton) in his pioneer work, but I owe my own conversion entirely to his little book, and it was originally my intention to work out the punctuation of the different editions of *King Richard II* in accordance with his headings. I found this, however, beyond my powers, and have come to think his method of exposition a little misleading, as suggesting a grammatical intention in the minds of Elizabethan or seventeenth-century punctuators with which I should be loth to credit them. Having acknowledged my indebtedness to Mr. Simpson I shall therefore deal with the problem in my own way, and he must not be held responsible for any shortcomings in my method of attacking it.

‘Modern punctuation,’ says Mr. Simpson, ‘is, or at any rate attempts to be, logical; the earlier system was mainly rhythmical.’ In the plays of Shakespeare and in all the poetry of his day, rhythm, no doubt, played a very large part in determining punctuation; but if any one word has to be set up in opposition to ‘logical’ I would use a slightly larger term than ‘rhythmical’, and call the punctuation with which we are concerned ‘rhetorical’. In the plays, wherever it becomes important, it might perhaps best be called ‘dramatic’. To get at its underlying principle we may go back to the lessons of the schoolroom in which I learnt that, when a comma stopped the way, I must pause while I could count one; when a semi-colon, while I could count two; when a colon, three; when a full stop, four. Educational

formulas are long-lived, and it is possible that this simple rule of thumb, which made each stop simply and solely a measure of time, came down from Elizabethan days. It is certainly quite inapplicable to modern punctuation. Any one who read aloud and marked his stops like this would risk having things thrown at him. In reading aloud we ignore many of the stops with which grammarians have taught printers to pepper our pages. The stops may sometimes save us from mistaking the sense, but they give hardly any clue as to how a given passage should be 'taken', and it is precisely this which the punctuation of the First Folio attempted to do—and, at least occasionally, did.

The strength of Mr. Simpson's treatise is in his examples, and the example which effected my conversion was a line and a half from *King Henry V* (v. i. 49 sq.), spoken by Pistoll as, in terror of Fluellen's cudgel, he begins to eat the leek. In the Folio it is printed, quite shamelessly,

By this Leeke, I will most horribly reuenge I eate
and eate I fweare

In the Globe Shakespeare there is a colon after 'reuenge' and a comma after the second 'eate'; but the Folio shows us Fluellen flourishing his cudgel, and how should he stop while he might count three after 'reuenge', or even one after 'eate', when the slightest pause might bring the cudgel on his head? The absence of stops here can hardly be called rhythmical, but it is certainly dramatic, and it gives what is practically a stage direction, which is totally lacking in the modern rendering.

While I was pondering this section chance brought to me, at second hand, a delightful piece of Shakespearian punctuation of an opposite kind, in Mr. Anstey's *Voces*

Populi. A Hyde Park orator is giving his views on ministerial shortcomings, and by printing his observations as

The present Government Har. The most Abandoned! The most Degraded! The most Cowardly! The most Debased! The most Ber-lud-thirsty! Set. Of Sneakin' Ruffians. That hever disgraced the Title. Of so-called Yumanity.¹

Mr. Anstey not only tells us exactly what his orator said, but exactly how he said it. Here, in fact, we have the First Folio punctuation in a nut-shell, emphasis-capitals and all.

It is not in every play that a Fluellen whirls his cudgel about the head of an unlucky Pistol, or that a speech has to be delivered with the energy proper to Hyde Park. We must be content, as a rule, and certainly in *Richard II*, to trace the influence of the dramatic form in such less striking instances as the special punctuation, sometimes abnormally light, sometimes abnormally heavy, which we find in long speeches. There is an element of convention in all dramatic art, but a good actor does not strain it needlessly, and if he is given a long speech to deliver he will not emphasize the improbability of the other man being content to remain silent by unduly prolonging his pauses. Hence the frequent substitution of the colon for a full stop even in unimpassioned speeches, and the use only of commas when in wrath, indignation, or entreaty, the torrent of words is in full flow. Hence, on the other hand, the greater significance of such full stops as occur. In other contexts the use of notably light stopping may occasionally denote an intentionally abrupt transition. On the other hand, dramatic speech being more emphatic than ordinary talk, we find commas which seem superfluous, or other stops which seem

¹ Quoted in the Rev. Cyril A. Alington's *A Schoolmaster's Apology* (Longmans, 1914).

needlessly heavy, inserted to indicate a pause, so that the words which follow may be clearly heard in their full value. Instances of this kind may be usefully classified on Mr. Simpson's method, but here we are only concerned in trying to distinguish between peculiarities, as we esteem them, which may be attributed to the dramatic form, and those which could be found also in non-dramatic Elizabethan prose.

At the other end of the scale to this mainly dramatic punctuation we have the reproduction, as on the disk of a gramophone, of the pauses, or absence of pauses, in ordinary talk. Our modern punctuation has left ordinary talk altogether on one side, not without serious loss to its own usefulness. If systematization should always be accompanied by the critical revision which leads to improvement, nevertheless a systematization of the pauses in normal speech which leaves normal speech on one side, in order to cut up sentences so as to make them more easy to parse, has lost touch with reality. Some at least of the divergences from our modern 'logical' punctuation which Mr. Simpson puts to the credit of an Elizabethan 'rhythmical' system seem to the present writer to have nothing to do with rhythm. They represent actual modes of common speech, some of which an elocutionist, so far from treating as rhythmical, would denounce as slipshod. If a boy who sings out 'Come along Jack' does not pause before his friend's name, and we wish to indicate this, why should we be denied leave to omit a comma? On the other hand, although the number of words which it takes to express the subject of a verb may make no difference to it logically or grammatically, the Elizabethan custom of marking off the end of such an extended subject by the interposition of a comma before the verb answers to a real necessity of clear speech.

In the sentence just written such a comma would be placed between 'verb' and 'answers', and any one who reads it aloud will find himself involuntarily making at that point the slight pause which a comma indicates.

Lastly the First Folio abounds with commas which are as purely rhythmical in their intention as the colons which divide every verse of the Prayer-book version of the Psalms into two halves, balancing each other. We find these most frequently at the end of lines, but very often at the internal rhythmical break which I am old-fashioned enough to call the caesura. We find them, not uniformly, but frequently, wherever they can be placed with advantage, or even without injury, to the rhetoric, and Mr. Simpson's classification of his wealth of examples according to the grammatical collocations which they override is useful, and (I think) only useful, as demonstrating that they have nothing to do with grammar. On the view here taken the punctuation with which we are dealing differs from that now in use by its closer adherence to the actualities of ordinary speech, and by accommodating itself unashamedly to the rhythmical, rhetorical, and dramatic necessities of the playhouse. It may fairly be regarded as a system, though, as Mr. Simpson rightly insists, a varying and flexible one. In so far, however, as it is really a system, it obviously leaves room for infringements of its own variable and flexible requirements, and there seems a gap in Mr. Simpson's argument when he advances at a leap from the demonstration that such a system existed to the conclusion that Isaac Jaggard and his workmen¹ 'knew how to print'. They certainly did not invent the system. To confine ourselves to Shakespeare texts, it is found full blown in the Heyes Quarto

¹ Blount, whom Mr. Simpson, following the imprint of the First Folio, couples with Jaggard, was not a printer, but a publisher.

of the *Merchant of Venice*. Whether they are to be called good printers or bad in this respect thus depends, not on their mere adoption of it, but on the success with which they carried it out, though as against their hasty detractors Mr. Simpson is entitled to claim that he has rescued them from the worst imputation, that of having had no system at all. But Mr. Simpson says nothing as to their lapses, and until an *advocatus diaboli* has inquired into these and been defeated, his full case is not made out. The present apologist for the Quartos enters this caveat by no means unsympathetically, as though the system in this Quarto is the same as in the First Folio it will be seen that, when he would most like to prove care, this is so conspicuously absent that argument as to some interesting punctuations which the edition offers is hampered by a doubt as to how far they were deliberate.

In penitence for the length of these remarks on Punctuation we will content ourselves with noting as to the use of a capital or majuscule for the initial letter of substantives that this must be regarded as denoting some rhetorical stress or emphasis, and that we shall find the frequency of such emphasis capitals bearing some relation to the heaviness of the punctuation. The practice of contemporary actors may quite possibly have had some influence on it, but it seems clear that in this matter the printers were guided partly by the copy they had before them, partly by their own preferences.

These preliminary explanations as to spelling, punctuation, and initial capitals having been offered, we now approach the very difficult task of presenting the characteristics of the successive editions of *King Richard II*, so as to create an impression of each of these editions as a product of human minds and human hands doing their best, good or ill, with the material which was set before

them. We can prove in the case of three of these editions, two of 1598 and one of 1615, that in each instance this material was exclusively a preceding edition, examples of which are available for examination. Our main business is to use the bibliographically ascertainable relation between copy and original in these cases to deduce from the state of the text of the First Quarto the probable quality of the material—the manuscript obtained from the players—from which the first printed text was derived, and in like manner to get some indication of the value of the new material, the manuscript of the so-called Deposition Scene, obtained in 1608, and again of what new material we are to suppose was available in 1623. As our starting-point it is necessary to form, and convey, as accurate an impression as possible of the positive value of the text of the First Quarto. To do this we must needs have recourse to some external and patently independent testimony. To set out ourselves to establish from the beginning the value of this text would involve the discussion of every letter in it which varies from the text of any other edition, and to deduce from such a discussion results sufficiently clear to command acceptance would be a heavy task even for an investigator free from all suspicion of bias. The present investigator tries assiduously to keep himself free from bias; but he is quite willing to have his statements regarded as those of an advocate for the goodness of the ‘regularly entered’ quarto texts, and to win his case, if he can, as an advocate, without assuming the rôle of a judge. It is therefore a great help and satisfaction that in the Cambridge edition of Shakespeare, first published in 1863–6 (the first volume edited by W. G. Clark and J. Glover, vols. ii–ix by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright), and re-edited by Mr. Aldis Wright in 1891, there exists an entirely independent

critical text, the authority of which is certainly greater than that of any other, and that by bringing this text into our evidence we can materially simplify our task.

It may be well here to summarize the main features of the Cambridge Shakespeare. The division into Acts and Scenes follows that of the First Folio with some modifications. The old stage-directions, duly recorded in the foot-notes, are rehandled and supplemented with some freedom in order to make the action intelligible. The text is printed in modern spelling, with modern punctuation and the modern abstinence from emphasis-capitals at the beginnings of words. The line-arrangement, when it differs from that of the early editions, is also modern, the result mainly of the labours of the eighteenth-century commentators, to whom their respective suggestions are duly credited in the critical notes.

The text of our play, except in the so-called Deposition Scene which follows the First Folio, is based on that of the First Quarto (in which the Deposition Scene is omitted), but corrected, to the extent which we shall see, partly from the readings in the later Quartos and the four Folios, partly from the editorial conjectures of the commentators of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Readings and conjectures not accepted in the text are recorded in the critical foot-notes, each being carefully credited to its original source. In these critical foot-notes no arguments are used, but at the end of the play there are some longer notes in which thirty-two passages are concisely discussed.

The Cambridge Shakespeare is, of course, not infallible. From the purely critical point of view it suffers slightly, but only slightly, from the opportunist eclecticism by which most other texts are far more deeply affected. But it is a very fine text to have been produced at a time

when eclecticism was still rampant, and the occasional yielding to the desire for an effective reading makes it all the more valuable as a witness on our side. No one can say that it disregards intelligibility. In a few cases, as we shall see, difficulties are left unsolved for lack of any satisfactory alternative reading or any probable emendation. But the appearance in it not only of alternative readings from the First Folio, but of at least a few which originated in the later Quartos, besides a very few avowed conjectures, gives us the better right to regard the retention of the text of the First Quarto in any passage as a deliberate judgement that nothing more satisfactory has been proposed.

Turning now to the First Quarto itself we find that this contains nine sheets, signed A-I, of four leaves, or eight pages apiece, and a half-sheet signed K, containing three printed pages, followed by a blank. Excluding the title, the blank page on the back of it, and the blank last page, we have in all seventy-three pages used for the text, a full page usually containing thirty-seven lines. What amount of alteration, excluding for the moment spelling, punctuation, and stage-directions, was necessary to bring this amount of printed matter to the standard of intelligibility demanded by the Cambridge editors? The question has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect, and we must try to answer it in each respect. Of course, to summarize the state of the text of a play of Shakespeare's in terms of arithmetic is immensely difficult, and we only attempt the task as a rough aid to visualizing our problem. With this proviso we offer the answer that on an average one error has been discovered on every page of the First Quarto, and about once in every four pages some readjustment is needed in the line-arrangement. It must be added that, as shown by the notes, about once in

every four pages there is a word or a phrase which not merely one but most of the commentators have found difficult, but for which no satisfactory solution can be discovered.

Before proceeding further we must recall the very interesting and important fact already mentioned that in the three copies of the First Quarto still in existence nine pages exist in two different states, the one corrected, the other uncorrected. The distribution of the pages in the three copies has already been stated. In the co-existence of corrected and uncorrected pages in different copies of the same edition there is nothing unusual. It can be paralleled from many Elizabethan books, and could certainly be paralleled from many more were the zeal for collation now reserved for special rarities bestowed on a few score of ordinary works of the same period. In the case of *Richard II*, as the nine pages on which these variations occur are scattered over five sheets, we may guess that Valentine Sims had a trick of arriving late, or lingering unduly over his dinner, and the pressmen, in their anxiety to get on with their work, began printing off on several occasions before his arrival. When at last the corrector made his appearance the pressmen stopped work for a few minutes, while such additional corrections as he thought needed were made on the sheet they were printing. Such a method of procedure would be very characteristic of the mixture of carelessness and care which seems to have pervaded the Elizabethan printing-houses. The printers were quite anxious to do decent work, but they had to get on with their job, and while they would take the trouble to make corrections they could not hang about waiting for them.

The mistakes which were corrected in some copies and left uncorrected in others are seventeen in number and very various in kind. In the first of them we have one

of the few really probable cases of a compositor having had his text read out to him, the line (i. i. 139) 'But ere I last receiude the Sacrament' appearing in the Devonshire and Capell copies with a preliminary 'Ah', which could hardly have crept in from any other cause than our English habit of making strange noises, now generally 'Er', between our sentences.¹ Many misprints which have been explained as arising from oral dictation more probably arose from the compositor keeping a sentence in his head and dictating it to himself. Any general habit of printing from dictation is extremely improbable, inasmuch as with only a slight saving of time to the compositor it would have involved the employment of an extra man, nineteen-twentieths of whose time would have been wasted, as a dictator can read quite twenty times as fast as a compositor can set up. Moreover, early pictures of printing-houses, in several of which we see the compositor working with his copy stuck up in front of him, further discount its likelihood. On the other hand, on a dark day, or when difficult copy was sent in, a master printer might easily have taken the manuscript himself to a window or candle and dictated for a few minutes.

While the reading with the interjected 'Ah' stands by itself, there are others of these seventeen mistakes which may possibly be best explained on the dictation theory. Thus in the second of the two lines (i. iii. 135-6)

With harfh refounding trumpets dreadfull bray,
And grating shocke of wrathfull yron armes,

¹ Mr. F. J. Hall, Controller of the Oxford University Press, who has taken a very kind interest in the typographical questions dealt with in this Introduction, is reluctant to admit even this as an instance of dictation. He suggests that the pen and ink copyist may have begun the line with the intention of writing the word 'And', but when he got as far as 'An' he discovered his mistake, and put his pen through the 'An' in such a way as to make it look like 'Ah'.

the Huth and Capell copies repeat 'harsh resounding' where they ought to have printed 'wrathfull iron'. Possibly a dictator, as dictators have a way of doing, with mistaken kindness began to read line 135 over again when the compositor was setting up line 136, and thus 'harsh resounding' was printed twice over. In three other cases the question is one of an 's' at the end of a word;¹ in two others of a letter inserted or omitted at the beginning.² Other theorists will expect to find the compositor, instead of always setting up the successive letters of a line in their order, varying his work by picking out the letters according to the arrangement of his composing box and occasionally clapping one or more on the wrong word. This may explain 'any' for 'a' in v. ii. 108 (Huth), taken in conjunction with 'a' for 'any' in the following

¹ In i. ii. 48 'butchers' for 'butcher'; in i. iii. 133 'Draw' for 'Drawes'; in ii. i. 156 'kerne' for 'kernes'. The first of these is important because it supplies an exact parallel to another line left uncorrected. 'Butchers' for 'butcher' occurs in the line 'That it may enter butchers Mowbraies breast'. In ii. i. 124 the First Quarto reads 'Oh spare me not my brothers Edwards fonne', and we may fairly conclude that if the press-corrector had been alert he would have treated 'brothers' as he treated 'butchers' and docked the final s.

² i. ii. 70 'cheere' for 'heare', i. iii. 241 'ought' for 'fought'. The reading 'cheere' is rather famous, because of Malone's vigorous defence of it, when 'heare' was only known as a later Quarto reading, its occurrence in the Devonshire copy of the First Quarto not having been noted. The full passage is

Alacke and what shall good olde Yorke there see,
But empty lodgings and vnfurnisht wals,
Vnpeopled offices, vntrodden stones,
And what heare there for welcome but my grones?

'There see' in the first of these lines is so excellently complemented by 'heare there' in the fourth that there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the latter reading. Yet Malone made out quite a good case for his 'And what cheer there for welcome but my grones?'

line ;¹ possibly also 'emptines, hollownes' in 1. ii. 59 instead of 'emptie hollownes'. In two lines we have small words dropped out ('alas' from 1. ii. 42, the first 'his' from 1. iii. 108). In 'riuall hating' for 'riuall-hating' (1. iii. 131) we have the less important omission of a hyphen, and in 'portculift' for 'portcullift', in 1. iii. 167, a simple misspelling. The mistake 'with' for 'what' in 1. iv. 27 may point to an original contraction 'wt'. The remaining differences of reading are 'cruell woundes' for 'ciuill woundes' in 1. iii. 128 (involving a change of only two letters), and 'this' for 'thy' in v. iii. 126.

If these seventeen corrections had occurred in a first edition of a book by certain writers, Ben Jonson, for instance, or Herrick, we should need to inquire whether any of them could be due to the belated intervention of the author. Not even the most valiant defenders of the value of the First Quartos, as far as I am aware, has ever contended that Shakespeare revised the proof-sheets of any of his plays. To make out even a plausible case for such a revision would immediately place the text in question on a pinnacle far higher than I should dare to claim for the best that has come down to us. We must take it that the mistakes are ordinary mistakes due to the compositors misrendering their copy, and that the corrections are ordinary corrections due to the printer's reader² intervening belatedly. As such their interest is very great, as they show us the kind of mistakes which not merely some Elizabethan printers chosen at haphazard, but the very men who were setting up the first edition of this play, were capable of making when

¹ He is as like thee as a man may be,
Not like to me, or any of my kinne.

² The 'printer's reader' would probably be Sims himself. In his absence the compositor would have had to examine the proof himself.

left to themselves. To this point we shall return later on. There is another which we must press home at once. Here are seventeen mistakes which the compositors made and the proof-reader tardily corrected. If instead of correcting them when part of the number of copies required of each sheet had been printed off he had not corrected them at all, though the reputation of the First Quarto would have suffered, the value of the manuscript on which that Quarto was based would have remained the same. Save in so far as they suggest that the writing of the manuscript was bad, or that it was crabbedly corrected, the seventeen blunders, far from discrediting the manuscript, bring vividly before us the ease with which errors were introduced in the process of printing and the extreme danger of assuming that the faultiness of a printed text involves a corresponding faultiness in the manuscript which it follows.¹

We can express the errors corrected in copies of the First Quarto itself in the following table.²

Letters omitted				
I. iii. 133	<i>reads</i>	Draw	<i>for</i>	Drawes.
I. iii. 241		ought		fought.
II. i. 156		kerne		kernes.

¹ Obviously the first business of the Cambridge editors was to follow the corrected pages in each case and eliminate the mistakes due to the uncorrected ones. As a matter of fact when the first Cambridge edition was issued the existence of the two 'states' of the sheets in question was not fully known; but in the revised edition of 1891 the process was completed, and from the numerical estimate of the sins of the First Quarto offered on p. 33, from the stand-point of the Cambridge text, these blunders which the printers of the Quarto themselves corrected were, of course, set aside.

² This omits 'portculist' *for* 'portcullist' in I. iii. 167 as a matter of spelling with which we are not at present concerned; also 'riual hating' *for* 'riual-hating' in I. iii. 131, as hyphens for our purpose may be classed with punctuation.

Letter added				
1. ii. 48	<i>reads</i>	butchers	<i>for</i>	butcher.
Letters substituted				
1. ii. 59	<i>reads</i>	emptines	<i>for</i>	emptie.
Words omitted				
1. ii. 42	<i>reads</i>	then	<i>for</i>	then alas.
1. iii. 108		God		his God.
Word added				
1. i. 139	<i>reads</i>	Ah but	<i>for</i>	But.
Words substituted				
1. ii. 70	<i>reads</i>	cheere	<i>for</i>	heare.
1. iii. 128		cruell		ciuill.
1. iii. 136		harsh refounding		wrathfull yron.
1. iv. 27		With		What.
v. ii. 108		any		a.
v. ii. 109.		a		any.
v. iii. 126.		this		thy.

Taking the Cambridge text as our standard we can express the First Quarto's uncorrected errors, other than of line-arrangement, speakers, spelling and punctuation, in the same way, adding in a fourth column a note of the edition in which the error was first corrected.¹

Letters omitted (8)

1. i. 102	<i>reads</i>	taïtour ²	<i>for</i>	traitor	<i>corrected by</i>	B.
1. iii. 180		y'owe		you owe		F.

¹ In this column B stands for the earlier edition of 1598, W for the later, C and D for those of 1608 and 1615, F for the Folio of 1623, F² for the second Folio, G for the Quarto of 1634, F³ and F⁴ for the third and fourth Folios, and Edd. for later editions.

² The mention of this misprint in a foot-note in the Cambridge edition should have carried with it at least eight others apparently omitted as not worth noticing: 11. i. 200 'lay' for 'fay'; 111. iii. 201 'stroug'st' for 'strongst'; 111. iv. 48 'htah' for 'hath'; v. i. 3 'wohfe' for 'whole'; v. ii. 104 'rhy' for 'thy'; v. iii. 49 'writtng' for 'writing'; v. v. 33 'penurie' for 'penurie'; v. v. 88 'prond' for 'proud'.

I. iii. 239 ¹	<i>reads</i> had't	<i>for</i> had it	<i>corrected by</i> Edd.
II. i. 257	King	King's	W.
III. ii. 40.	boldly	boldly	Edd.
V. iii. 75	voice	voic'd	W.
V. iii. 122	fets	fet'ft	G.
V. vi. 43	through	thorough	Edd.

Letters transposed (1)

II. i. 278	<i>reads</i> Brittain	<i>for</i> Brittanie	<i>corrected by</i> B.
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Letters added (16)

I. iii. 222	<i>reads</i> nightes	<i>for</i> night	<i>corrected by</i> C.
I. iii. 254	returneft	return'ft	F.
I. iv. 20	Coofens	Coofen	F.
II. i. 18.	found	fond	Edd.
II. i. 124.	brothers (so F)	brother	B.
II. ii. 16	eyes	eye	F.
II. ii. 31.	thought	though	B.
II. ii. 129	that is	that's	F.
II. iii. 36	Herefords	Hereford	W.
III. ii. 29	heauens	heauen	Edd.
III. ii. 32.	fuccors	fuccor	Edd.
III. iv. 26	pines	pins	F.
III. iv. 29	yong	yon	B.
IV. i. 89	he is	he's	F.
V. i. 37	fometimes	fometime	W.
V. i. 62	knoweft	know'ft	B.

IV. Letters substituted (7)

I. i. 152	<i>reads</i> gentleman	<i>for</i> gentlemen	<i>corrected by</i> F.
I. ii. 47	fet	fit	F.
I. ii. 58	is	it	B.
II. i. 15	liues	life's	F ⁴ .
II. i. 102	inraged	incaged	F.
III. iii. 52	tottered	tatter'd	W.
V. v. 27	fet	fit	W.

V. Words omitted (14)

I. i. 118	<i>reads</i> fcepters	<i>for</i> my fcepters	<i>corrected by</i> F.
I. iii. 172	sentence	sentence then	F.

¹ The line is omitted in the Folio.

- i. iv. 23 *reads* Bushie *for* Bushy, Bagot here and Greene *corrected*
by F G.
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| ii. i. 48 | <i>reads</i> moate | <i>for</i> a moate | <i>corrected</i> by C. |
| ii. iii. 99 | lord | the lord | F. |
| iii. ii. 30 | else | else if | Edd. |
| iii. ii. 134. | this | this offence | F. |
| iii. iii. 13. | brief | brief with you | F. |
| iii. iv. 57 | at | We at | Edd. |
| iv. i. 76 | bond | my bond | W. |
| iv. i. 333 | the | and the | Edd. |
| v. i. 62 | He | And he | Edd. |
| v. iii. 36 | May | I may | B. |
| v. iii. 144 | cousin | cousin, too, | G. |

VI. Words transposed (4)

- ii. ii. 110 *reads* disorderly thrust *for* thrust disorderly *corrected*
by Edd.
- ii. ii. 138 *reads* Will the hatefull commons *for* The hatefull
commons will *corrected* by Edd.
- v. ii. 52 *reads* do these iusts and triumphs hold ? *for* hold those
iusts and triumphs ? *corrected* by F.
- v. iii. 135 *reads* I pardon him with all my heart *for*
With all my heart
I pardon him *corrected* by Edd.

VII. Words added (2)

- i. i. 162 *reads* obedience bids Obedience bids *for* Obedience
bids *corrected* by Edd.
- ii. i. 113 *reads* now not, not *for* now, not *corrected* by Edd.

VIII. Words substituted (17)

- i. iii. 33 *reads* comes *for* com'ft *corrected* by F.
- i. iv. 53 *reads* Enter Bushie with newes. *for* Enter Bushy.
King. Bushy, what newes ? *corrected* by F.
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| ii. i. 177 | <i>reads</i> a number | <i>for</i> the number | <i>corrected</i> by F. |
| ii. i. 252 | hath | have | Edd. |
| ii. iii. 123 | in | of | B. |
| ii. iii. 158 | vnto | to | B. |
| iii. iii. 119 | princeffe | a prince, is | W. F. |
| iii. iv. 11 | griefe | joy | Edd. |

III. iv. 34	<i>reads</i> two	<i>for</i> too	<i>corrected by</i> F.
III. iv. 80	canst	camest	B.
IV. i. 22	them	him	W.
V. i. 25	throwne	stricken	F.
V. i. 32	the	thy	B.
V. i. 34	the	a	B.
V. ii. 98	there	their	B.
V. iii. 106	still	shall	F.
V. vi. 47	what	that	F.

The list is a pretty long one, but now let us compare it with a similar list for B, the earlier of the two editions of 1598, issued from the same printing office as the first edition, and very probably set up by the same compositors who had worked at the first a few months earlier. In this list I have only assigned to their authors the corrections made in the later Quartos and the First Folio. Two small errors which seem to occur only in the Capell copy ('gortes' for 'grotes' in v. v. 68, and the omission of 'it' in v iii. 55) are left on one side, as not affecting the whole edition.

I. Letters omitted (16)

I. iii. 141	<i>reads</i> field	<i>for</i> fields	<i>corrected by</i> F.
I. iii. 237	vrge	vrge	F.
I. iii. 266	a	as	
II. i. 201	right	rightes	
II. ii. 79	care	cares	
III. i. 7	death	deaths	F.
III. ii. 11	fauour	fauours	
III. ii. 41	his	this	F.
III. ii. 138	head	heads	F.
IV. i. 52	take	taske	
IV. i. 138	his	this	
IV. i. 332	hart	harts	
V. i. 43	griefe	griefes	
V. i. 46	simpathie	simpathize	F.
V. v. 36	king	king'd	F.
V. vi. 43	the fhade	fhades	

II. Letters transposed (2)

- II. i. 18 *reads* state *for* taste
 III. ii. 40 bloody *for* bouldy (boldly) *corrected by* Edd.

III. Letters added (12)

- I. iii. 13 *reads* what's *for* what
 I. iii. 109 forwards forward *corrected by* F³.
 I. iv. 22 comes come D.
 II. i. 243 (& 245) against gainst F.
 II. i. 271 eapie ipy F.
 II. ii. 26 eyes eye F.
 II. iii. 102 thoufands thousand F.
 III. ii. 53 trembled tremble F.
 III. ii. 170 walls wall
 V. i. 74 betwixt twixt F.
 V. iii. 17 commonest commonst F.
 V. iv. 4 friends friend W.

IV. Letters substituted (2)

- II. i. 12 *reads* glofe *for* clofe *corrected by* F.
 II. i. 87 O I F.

V. Words omitted (23)

- I. i. 60 *reads* and *for* and I *corrected by* F.
 I. i. 77 deuife worfe deuife F.
 II. i. 88 flatter flatter with
 II. i. 127 tapt tapt out F.
 II. i. 146 be all be F.
 II. iii. 3 in here in F.
 II. iii. 118 father my father F.
 II. iv. 15 death death or fall
 II. iv. 18 with with the
 III. iii. 27 the are the
 III. iii. 205 heir my heir F.
 III. iv. 42 in as in F.
 III. iv. 107 in in the F.
 IV. i. 26 thou I fay thou
 IV. i. 117 any that any F.
 V. i. 87 weep weep thou F.
 V. ii. 2 story story off]

v. ii. 66	<i>reads</i>	against the	<i>for</i>	gainst the triumph	
		triumph		day	
v. ii. 78		my,		by my (twice)	
v. ii. 109		me		to me	<i>corrected by F.</i>
v. v. 46		disordered		a disordered	F.
v. v. 50		made		made me	
v. vi. 8		Salisbury		Salisbury, Blunt	F. ¹

VI. Words transposed (8)

II. ii. 53	<i>reads</i>	yong sonne	<i>for</i>	son yong	
II. iii. 92		more than why		then more why	
II. iv. 8		all are		are all	<i>corrected by F.</i>
III. iii. 21		royally is		is royally	F.
III. iv. 55		it is		is it	F.
IV. i. 115		I may		may I	F.
V. ii. 89		not thou		thou not	F.
V. v. 27		haue many		many haue	W.

VII. Words added (10)

II. i. 171	<i>reads</i>	the noble	<i>for</i>	noble	<i>corrected by F.</i>
II. i. 291		our countries		our	F.
III. ii. 113		and boyes		boies	
III. iii. 146		a king		king	F.
IV. i. 41		liue I		liue	F.
IV. i. 122		not here		here	D.
IV. i. 148		and let		let	F ² .
V. iii. 102		do come		come	F.
V. v. 32		a king		king	F.
V. vi. 43		the shade		shades	

VIII. Words substituted (50)

I. i. 70	<i>reads</i>	a	<i>for</i>	the	<i>corrected by G.</i>
I. i. 87		faid		fpeake	
I. i. 146		the		my	F.
I. i. 189		begger-face		beggar-fear	F.
I. i. 198		life		liues	F.
I. i. 202		you		we	
I. iii. 101		thy		the	
I. iii. 117		forth		forward	F.

¹ Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt.

	<i>reads</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>corrected by</i>
I. iii. 146	vnto	to	F.
I. iii. 233	with	vpon	F.
I. iii. 240 ¹	would	should	
I. iii. 303	it	he	
I. iv. 10	your	our	F.
II. i. 53	in	for	F.
II. i. 92	I	and	
II. i. 95	the	thy	
II. ii. 57	the rest of the	al the rest	
II. ii. 94	I came came by and	as I came by I	
II. ii. 103	two	no	
II. ii. 139	in	to	
II. iii. 14	that	which	
II. iii. 77	ghorious	gratious regent	
II. iii. 112	my	thy	F.
III. i. 15	with	by	
III. i. 18	they	you	F.
III. i. 22	While	Whilft	
III. ii. 1	you	they	
III. ii. 142	Ye (= yea)	I (= ay)	
III. iii. 56	smoke	shock	
III. iii. 166	And	As	F.
III. iv. 24	commeth	come	
III. iv. 38	that	which	
III. iv. 50	that	which	
III. iv. 104	drop	fall	
IV. i. 22	my	them	(Whim)
IV. i. 35	that	which	
IV. i. 41	the	that	
IV. i. 70	mine	my	C.
IV. i. 82	of	at	F.
IV. i. 98	a	that	F.
IV. i. 102	sure	surely	
V. i. 39	my	thy	
V. i. 95	doubly	dumbly	F.
V. ii. 11	while	whilft	
V. iii. 16	to	vnto	F.

¹ The line is omitted in the Folio.

v. iii. 21	<i>reads</i> sparkles	<i>for</i> sparks	<i>corrected by</i> F.
v. v. 1	to	I may	
v. v. 14	thy	the	F.
v. v. 31	prifon	perfon	
v. vi. 35	flaughter	flaunder	

The total number of errors introduced in this one edition amounts to no fewer than 123, or very nearly twice as many as those which have been detected in the First Quarto, and far more than the sins which can be attributed to the printers of that edition even if every difficulty which remains unsolved is to be laid at their door. Let us remember that this second edition was probably called for in a hurry ; let us remember that the printer's reader, knowing that the compositors were setting up from print instead of from manuscript, may have given himself a holiday ; let us make any other allowances that can reasonably be suggested : we cannot get away from the fact that in the face of this mass of new errors introduced in printing the second edition from the first, we cannot argue from the smaller number of errors in the first edition that the manuscript from which that edition was set up was in any respect imperfect. It *may* have been imperfect, and the printers *may* have printed from it with absolute fidelity, but with the evidence before us of the mass of errors introduced in reprinting the text in the same printing-house a few months later, the probability is all the other way.

In comparison with B, the text of the later of the two editions of 1598 here reproduced from Mr. White's copy is quite creditably correct. From my record of it I have omitted three examples of the kind of misprint which the Cambridge editors treated as negligible in the case of the First Quarto (' Knighthood ' in 1. i. 179 ; ' vengeance ' in 1. ii. 8 ; ' iustie ' for ' iustice ' in 1. iii. 30), lest I should

be thought to be pressing too hardly on the later Quartos. On the other hand I have included 'vnpruind' for 'vnprund' in III. iv. 45, because after being corrected in C and D the misprint recurs in F.

Letters omitted (4)

I. iv. 7	<i>reads</i> face	<i>for</i> faces	
II. i. 210	land	lands	<i>corrected by</i> F.
II. iii. 117	or	for	F.
V. i. 35	beaft	beasts	F.

Letters added (4)

II. i. 106	<i>reads</i> they reach	<i>for</i> thy reach	<i>corrected by</i> C.
II. i. 115	Ah	A	F.
III. ii. 135	loue's	loue	F.
III. iv. 45	vnpruind	vnprund	C.

Letters substituted (3)

I. i. 24	<i>reads</i> in	<i>for</i> an	<i>corrected by</i> F.
III. ii. 26	rebellious	rebellions	
V. iii. 63	hald	held (F had)	

Words omitted (3)

III. iii. 38	<i>reads</i> royall	<i>for</i> most royall	
III. iv. 70	Duke	good Duke	
IV. i. 326	Before	My Lo. before	

Words added (3)

I. i. 77	<i>reads</i> what thou	<i>for</i> thou	<i>corrected by</i> F.
V. v. 17	small posterne	posterne	F.
V. v. 36	a King	king (Q1 kingd)	

Words substituted (18)

I. iii. 72	<i>reads</i> a	<i>for</i> at	<i>corrected by</i> F.
I. iii. 86	lies	liues	F.
I. iii. 187	louing	lowring	F.
I. iii. 266	foyle	foyle	
I. iv. 8	sleepie	sleeping	
II. i. 10	hath	haue	F.
II. i. 18	his	whofe	
	then there	the wife	

II. i. 293	<i>reads</i> broken	<i>for</i> broking	<i>corrected by</i> F.
II. ii. 3	halfe-harming	life-harming	(F. selfe-harming)
III. i. 24	mine	my	
III. ii. 31 ¹	would	wil	
III. ii. 67	my	me	
III. ii. 116	browes	bowes	F.
III. ii. 117	wo	[y]ewe	F.
III. iii. 17	your	our	
III. iv. 52	puld	pluckt	
IV. i. 145	againft his	againft this	

This total of 35 new errors in W compares very favourably indeed with the 123 in B, and is, as it should be, only a little over half of the number the Cambridge editors debit to the printers of A. But the printer employed in 1608 by Mathew Lawe did even better. Hitherto he has been held responsible for some thirty or more new errors introduced by his immediate predecessor. In the imprint he is named only by his initials, W. W., but these are known to stand for William White; and it is rather a pretty coincidence that the good workmanship of his office is now vindicated by the evidence of this facsimile from the library of a modern collector who bears the same name. As before, we omit from our formal summary a few printers' faults which have no significance (III. ii. 177, Kin for King; III. iii. 120, Gentlem for Gentleman; I. i. 147, Tpon for Vpon; I. iii. 1, Kerford for Hereford; I. iii. 38, Morfolk for Norfolk; I. iii. 112, befend for defend; III. ii. 169, lettle for little). Relieved of these the record stands: ²

Letter omitted (1)

v. ii. 39	<i>reads</i> subiect	<i>for</i> subjects	<i>corrected by</i> F.
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¹ The line is omitted in the Folio.

² The 'Deposition Scene', as it does not occur in the first three Quartos, is excluded from our reckoning.

Letters added (3)

III. iii. 19	<i>reads</i> willes	<i>for</i> will	<i>corrected by</i> F.
III. iii. 160	weepest	weepft	F.
IV. i. 93	Iefus	Iefu	F.

Letters substituted (4)

I. iii. 167	<i>reads</i> percullift	<i>for</i> portcullift	
V. i. 63	will	wilt	<i>corrected by</i> F.
V. ii. 46	art	are	F.
V. iv. i	works	words	F.

Words omitted (3)

I. ii. 12	<i>reads</i> were	<i>for</i> were as	F.
I. iii. 269 ¹	deal	a deal	
II. i. 148	Nothing	Nay, nothing	F.

Word added (1)

I. i. 82	<i>reads</i> aliue, aliue	<i>for</i> aliue	<i>corrected by</i> F.
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Words substituted (6)

I. iii. 215	<i>reads</i> breach	<i>for</i> breath	<i>corrected by</i> D.
I. iii. 280 ¹	who	woe	
II. ii. 57	reuolting	reuolted	F.
II. ii. 69	couetous	cousening	F.
III. iii. 12	should	Would	F.
III. iii. 168	their	there	F.

We come now to the edition of 1615, the last of the Quartos which preceded the Folio of 1623. After eliminating a few misplaced letters which make only nonsense (v. v. 26, refnuge for refuge; i. i. 192, baee for base; i. iv. 1, Humerle for Aumerle; III. ii. 32, pooferred for profered; v. iii. 56, nos for not), we find a record about as good as that of W.

Letters omitted (3)

. iii. 301	<i>reads</i> Giue	<i>for</i> Gues	<i>corrected by</i> F.
II. i. 195	right	rights	F.
IV. i. 329	intent	intents	F.

¹ The Folio omits the line.

Letters added (3)

I. i. 67	<i>reads</i> meant	<i>for</i> mean	<i>corrected by</i> F.
III. iii. 46	be drencht	be drench	F.
v. iii. 58	thee heart	the heart	F.

Letters substituted (6)

I. iii. 29	<i>reads</i> formerly	<i>for</i> formally	
III. iii. 135	you	yon	<i>corrected by</i> F. (yond).
III. iv. 64	line	liue	F.
IV. i. 145	yon	you	F.
IV. i. 80	heare	heard	F.
v. v. 45	care	eare	F.

Words omitted (3)

III. iii. 98	<i>reads</i> of	<i>for</i> of her	<i>corrected by</i> F.
v. i. 43	good	good night	F.
v. vi. 3	town	town of	F.

Words added (3)

I. iii. 126	<i>reads</i> hath beene	<i>for</i> hath	<i>corrected by</i> F.
II. ii. 136	will will I	will I	F.
III. ii. 56	can cannot	can	F.

Words substituted (20)

I. i. 149	<i>reads</i> your	<i>for</i> his	F.
I. i. 179	and	or	F.
I. iii. 60	gorgde	gored	F.
I. iii. 94	youth	mouth	F.
I. iii. 215	one	a	F.
II. i. 60	and	or	F.
II. i. 113 ¹	nor	not	
II. iii. 22	whensoeuer	whencesoeuer	F.
II. iii. 56	estimation	estimate	F.
III. i. 13	profession	possession	F.
III. ii. 19	my	thy	F.
III. ii. 107	fhowers	fhores	F.
III. ii. 135	Ioue's (W loue's)	loue	F.
III. iii. 74	the	thy	F.
III. iv. 15	fadd	had	F.

¹ The Folio omits the line.

v. v. 52	<i>reads</i> there	<i>for</i> their	<i>corrected by</i> F.
v. v. 62	hath	haue	F.
v. v. 70	euer	neuer	
v. v. 99	wer't	art	
v. v. 106	thine	thy	

Tables are dull reading, and I fear that those I have already offered will have been too much for most of my readers, but here is one more, a very short one, for which I ask attention. It summarizes the last column in the foregoing ones and shows how many of the errors introduced in each of the Quartos were corrected in the successive editions up to and including the First Folio.

<i>New Errors</i>	<i>First Corrected by</i>					<i>Left uncorrected.</i>
	B.	W.	C.	D.	F ¹ .	
A. 69	14	8½	2		24½	20
B. 123		3	1	2	58	59
W. 35			2		15	18
C. 18				1	14	1 + 2
D. 38					33	4 + 1

The most remarkable feature of this table is its tribute to the editorial work of the First Folio. As regards C and D, the editions of 1608 and 1615, the success with which F intercepts in the one case all but one, in the other all but four, of the new errors in the lines it prints, seemed to me so extraordinary that I have been sorely tempted to offer another explanation. It will be remembered that before the discovery of Mr. White's unique edition 33 out of the 35 new errors which it introduced were necessarily debited to C, the edition of 1608, which repeated them. As no fewer than 18 of these errors appear also in the First Folio, on the evidence available there was no escape from the conclusion that F must have been derived from C either directly, or through D. As between C and D there was sufficient evidence to assign

the honour of having been used as 'copy' for the First Folio to D. In the preface to vol. iv of the Cambridge Shakespeare we are told of *Richard II*, 'the play, as given in the First Folio, was no doubt printed from a copy of Q 4', i.e. from the edition of 1615, which has now become the Fifth Quarto, and to which we give the symbol D. In the introduction to the Facsimile of the First Quarto, Mr. P. A. Daniel adduced what he considered 'sufficient proof that the Folio version got to press through the medium of Q 4'. With the discovery of W the problem is materially changed and the unusually complete success with which the First Folio succeeded in evading the new errors introduced by C and D would be very prettily explained if it could be shown that it was in fact set up from an edition in which these errors do not occur, to wit that which is here reproduced.

The chief evidence on which, before the discovery of W, the Folio text was held to be based on D rather than C was the recurrence in the Folio of the misspelling 'formerly' for 'formally' in i. iii. 29, and of the three variations 'euer' for 'neuer', 'wer't' for 'art', and 'thine' for 'thy' which come close together in v. v. 70, 99, and 106. 'Formerly' for 'formally' is neatly balanced by the recurrence in the Folio of W's 'vnpruind' for 'vnprund' in iii. iv. 45 ('Her fruit trees all vnpruind, her hedges ruind') after it had been corrected in C and D, the one being a common misspelling and the other possibly suggested twice over by 'ruind' at the end of the line. The three variants of D repeated in the Folio in v. v. come so suspiciously close together, that we may be reminded that the Fifth Quarto of *Richard III* is said to have been printed from copy made up from the Fourth and Fifth, and be tempted to suppose the Folio set up from a copy of W with the

last two leaves supplied from D. But the Folio follows D in reproducing in 1. iii. 167 the curious misspelling¹ 'perculift' for 'portculift', which occurs in C but not in Mr. White's copy of W, and though, with the variants in different copies of A before us, it cannot be denied that 'perculift' may have occurred in the copy of W followed by C, though not in Mr. White's, an hypothesis which makes such large assumptions is worthless. Despite 'vnpruind' and the suspiciously complete success with which the Folio eliminates the errors of C and D, I am not prepared to challenge the derivation of the Folio from the Quarto of 1615, though the case on the other side is only a little less strong.

The second point which emerges from our tables is the extreme and pre-eminent badness of B, the Second Quarto, which according to the judgement of the Cambridge editors introduces no fewer than 123 new errors, and only corrects 14 out of some 69 already made, leaving 55 to stand. It is rather a lucky chance that the faultiest of the later Quartos is the second, since it is to

¹ Mr. Daniel (Preface to Facsimile of Devonshire Quarto, p. xv) adduces also the spellings 'Britaine' in 11. i. 278 and 'Impresse' in 111. i. 25, where the First Quarto has 'Brittaine' and 'impreesse'; also 'more then' in 11. iii. 92 where B W C have 'more than' and the First Quarto 'then more'. Some coincidences of this kind are certain to occur between any two editions, and these do not count for much. On the other hand, C and D in one place (1. i. 32) have the spelling 'appeallant' which (with omission of the second l) is normal in the Folio, and D anticipates the Folio spelling 'kindred' for the 'kinred' of the earlier quartos. But even if working from a text of 1598 a compositor in 1623 would naturally sometimes abandon the spelling of his copy for later forms already in use in 1615. The whole problem is made curiously difficult by the closeness with which C follows W save in emphasis capitals, punctuation, and a few spellings, and the fact that in these matters D frequently reverts to W. On the other hand, the Folio has its own style and introduces some small difference in almost every line.

be feared that there has been an inclination to regard a 'second quarto' as only a little less important than a first, and thus the whole question of the value of the readings in these early Quartos, other than the first, is brought before us. As to this it would seem but common sense to make the textual value of any edition depend on the quality of the source from which it is derived, and the accuracy with which the readings of this source are reproduced. The source from which A was derived was plainly a manuscript text of the play, either Shakespeare's autograph, or some copy, at first or second hand, from this. Equally clearly, since it repeats some 55 of its blunders, the source from which B was derived was A, and we can therefore have no reason whatever for preferring any reading in B to any reading in A, unless either it is self-evidently right, or else there is some ground for supposing that the printer of B had access for occasional consultation, either to the manuscript used by A, or else to some other independent source. Is there, as a fact, any ground for supposing this?

Of the fourteen readings of B accepted by the Cambridge seven may fairly be considered self-evidently right. These are 'traitor' for 'taitour' in i. i. 102; 'it' for 'is' in i. ii. 58 ('griefe boundeth where is fals'); 'brother' for 'brothers' in ii. i. 124 ('Oh spare me not my brothers Edwards fonne'), any inclination to admit the double genitive as a grammatical eccentricity being discredited by the press-corrector's treatment of the similar phrase, 'butchers Mowbraies breaft' in i. ii. 48 (see *supra*, p. 36, and note); 'though' for the first 'thought' in ii. ii. 31 ('As thought on thinking on no thought I thinke'); 'cameft' or 'camft' for 'canft' in iii. iv. 80 ('how canft thou by this ill tidings?'); 'their' for 'there' in v. ii. 98 ('And interchaungeably fet downe there hands');

'I may' for 'May' in v. iii. 36 ('Then giue me leaue that May turne the key'). If any one cares to argue for the double genitive in II. i. 124 it may be shunted into my second class with no harm to my argument. The other six are indubitably self-evidently right, and this justifies their introduction into the text, without inquiry as to the authority on which they are based.

Contrast with these the remaining seven, for which as conjectures in some cases much, in others a good deal less, may be said; but for which it can hardly be claimed that they carry their own proof with them. The first of the seven substitutes 'Brittanie' for 'Brittaine' in the lines II. i. 277 sqq. printed in A as

Then thus, I haue from le Port Blan
A Bay in Brittaine receiude intelligence,

The change enables the Cambridge editors to rearrange the lines as

Then thus: I have from le Port Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, received intelligence.

But when 'Brittaine' recurs in l. 285 they print it as 'Bretagne', and the change to 'Brittanie' was rejected by the Quarto of 1615 and every subsequent seventeenth-century edition. Whether an improvement or not, it can thus hardly be accepted as self-evidently right, nor is it a reading for which it is easy to suppose recourse being made to any independent authority.

In II. iii. 123 sqq. the First Quarto reads

If that my coufin King be King in England,
It muft be granted I am duke of Lancafter:

Here B reads 'King of England', which leaves us puzzled as to how so common a phrase should have been abandoned by the printer of A for a much less usual one.

In II. iii. 158,

But since I cannot, be it knowen vnto you,
B substitutes 'to you' for 'vnto you', which seems to the present writer a needless tinkering of a quite inoffensive line.

In III. iv. 29 sqq.

Go bind thou vp yong dangling Aphricokes,
Which like vnruely children make their fire,
Stoope with opprefion of their prodigall weight.
Giue some fupportance to the bending twigs.

B reads 'yon' for 'yong', and probably from the idea that apricots weigh heavy when they are ripe rather than when young, the Cambridge editors accept the reading. But surely the picture of the new shoots, as yet only twigs, borne down by the weight of the young green fruit, is vivid enough to stand, and it is the word 'yong' that suggested the comparison of the fruit to 'vnruely children' in the next line. If 'yon' be thought better, it can hardly be called self-evidently right.

In v. i. 31-4 the Cambridge editors admit two corrections by B. The Queen is reproaching her husband for his patience. 'The Lyon,' she tells him,

The Lyon dying thrusteth foorth his pawe,
And woundes the earth if nothing else with rage,
To be ore-powr'd, and wilt thou pupill-like
Take the correction, mildly kisse the rod,
And fawne on Rage with base humilitie,
Which art a Lion and the king of beafts.

In line 32, B reads 'thy' for 'the', and thus originated the frequent misquotation of the line as a taunting imperative: 'Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod.' The transference of the comma from before to after 'mildly' originated with the First Folio, and though also accepted by the Cambridge editors, needlessly aug-

ments the idea fully conveyed in 'pupill-like'. Quoted as an imperative in a single line the rhythm is improved by the substitution of 'thy' for 'the'. But we must read the unabridged text

and wilt thou púpill-like
Take the correction, mildly kisse the rod . . .

and both the changes accepted by the Cambridge editors are open to grave objection.

In the last line B reads 'a king of beafts' instead of 'the king of beafts', and this may seem to be supported by Richard's reply, which begins

a King of beafts indeed ; if aught but beafts,
I had been still a happie King of men . . .

Frankly, B's reading is an improvement, but if it had been proposed by an eighteenth-century editor it would hardly have won acceptance, and can we be in the least sure that the better phrase was what Shakespeare wrote ?

The last of B's readings accepted by the Cambridge editors is a syncopated spelling 'knowft' for 'knowest' in a line (v. i. 62) which had to wait until Rowe's edition for a necessary emendation. The full passage reads in A,

Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithall
The mounting Bullingbrooke ascends my throne,
The time shall not be many houres of age
More than it is, ere foule finne gathering head
Shall breake into corruption, thou shalt thinke,
Though he diuide the realme and giue thee halfe,
It is too little helping him to all.
He shall thinke that thou which knowest the way
To plant vnrightfull kings, wilt know againe,
Being nere so little vrgde another way,
To plucke him headlong from the vsurped throne :

Rowe saw that both the flow of the sentence and the rhythm of line 62 would be improved by reading

And he shall think that thou which know'st the way,

and those who dislike the intrusion of an unaccented extra syllable will prefer 'know'st' to 'knowest'. To those who hold this view the change suggests itself; to those who delight in a free rhythm, it seems needless. Neither the one, nor the other, with examples of many such tinkering before them, can imagine the printers of B consulting a manuscript for authority to change 'knowest' to 'know'st', when they were omitting the initial 'And', which affects the line much more vitally.

It will be understood, I hope, that I have no wish to force my own opinion of these readings on my readers. I am only pointing out that on the one hand they are not self-evidently right, as the substitution of 'it fals' for 'is fals' is self-evidently right, and on the other hand it would be quite superfluous to postulate a new manuscript authority to account for their adoption by B. We cannot separate them from the other readings in that edition, 123 of which the Cambridge editors reject, a treatment much too sweeping if independent manuscript authority could be claimed for any single one of the new readings. Hence we are justified in concluding that, despite its having been printed within a few months of the first edition, no new reading in B can be received except on the footing of an emendation, entitled to no greater consideration than would be extended to a conjecture by Rowe, or Pope.

When we turn to Mr. White's Quarto we find that it contains eight new corrections of mistakes, so regarded by the Cambridge editors, and the best part of a ninth, and that all, or perhaps all but one, of these carry their own evidence with them. Thus in II. i. 257, where A reads

'The King growen banckrout like a broken man', W adds 's (i. e. 'is') to 'King', and thus gives the sentence its needed verb. On the other hand in II. iii. 36, where Northumberland is made to ask Percy, 'Haue you forgot the Duke of Herefords boy?', W knocks out the superfluous 's', and thus converts 'boy' into a vocative, and the Duke himself into the object of the question. In III. iii. 52 comes the doubtful phrase, 'this Castels tottered battlements,' where W substitutes 'tattered'. The emendation gives an easier reading, and yet if Rowe had proposed it instead of the printer of an early Quarto (hitherto supposed to be C, through which it made its way into the First Folio), I think we should have had 'tottered' explained as equivalent to 'made to totter', and considered a pleasing Shakespearian use. Later on in the scene (III. iii. 119) comes the half correction. Northumberland is vouching for Bolingbroke, and the First Quarto makes him say 'This sweares he, as he is princeffe iust'. W, being quite sure of the sex of Bolingbroke and of the gender of 'princeffe', substituted 'a Prince', leaving it to the First Folio to add the necessary 'is' ('This sweares he, as he is a Prince, is iust'), which had previously been represented by the feminine termination of 'princeffe'.

We may note in passing that this example is another instance in this play of a misprint possibly due to a mistake in hearing ('princeffe' for 'prince is'), and that the fact that the printer of W was only able to make half the correction instead of completing it, is tolerable proof that he had no higher authority at his elbow.

The remaining five corrections made by W are all obvious, one of them being a mere matter of a convention in spelling which had not become hard and fast when the Quartos were printed.

In iv. i. 19-22, Aumerle, when Bagot accuses him, exclaims (in A)

Princes and noble Lords,
What answer shall I make to this base man ?
Shall I so much dishonour my faire starres
On equall termes to giue them chastisement ?

The printer of W, perceiving that Aumerle could hardly propose to chastise the stars on a footing of equality, substituted a clearer reference to Bagot by changing 'them' to 'him'.

In lines 74-77 of the same scene another fighting gentleman exclaims:

I dare meet Surry in a wildernes,
And spit upon him whilst I say, he lies,
And lies, and lies : there is bond of faith,
To tie thee to my strong correction.

The third of the four lines (76) halts, and W helps it by inserting 'my' before 'bond'. The emendation is somewhat less than self-evidently right, because either 'the', which B supplied, or 'a' would be as good or better. But one of the three must needs be supplied.

In v. i. 37 Richard in A addresses his 'sometimes Queene', and the Cambridge editors follow W (as copied by C) in substituting the more modern form 'sometime'. To a modernizer the correction is self-evidently right, but as the Cambridge editors print 'thy sometimes brother's wife' in i. ii. 54, and 'my sometimes royal master's face' in v. v. 75, their change here is either ill-considered or based on a theory that the occurrence of the later form in a third Quarto (they took it from the 4th, which till now ranked as the 3rd) justified its introduction into the text in this instance, while its non-occurrence in a Quarto in the other two lines obliged them to reject it. Such a theory could only be maintained if it could be proved

that the printers of W had access to a manuscript text, and surely neither this nor any other of the readings of W which we are examining justifies such an assumption.

In v. iii. 75, when Bolingbroke hears the Duchess of York clamouring outside the door, he exclaims in A: 'What shril voice suppliant makes this eger crie?' W emends 'shril voice' to 'shrill voic'd', and we need not hesitate to accept the change as self-evidently right.

Lastly, in v. v. 27, Richard in A says of the stocks, 'many haue, and others must set there', and W corrects 'set' to 'fit'. The two words seem to have been vulgarly confused in Shakespeare's time, as 'lie' and 'lay' are at present. (In i. ii. 47 the First Quarto again reads 'set' where the Cambridge editors accept 'fit', not quite so certainly as here, as the true reading.) The correction is thus little more than a matter of spelling, and brings the emendations in W to rather a tame close.

Those in C, the Quarto of 1608, always excepting the addition of the so-called Deposition Scene, are only two in number, 'night' for 'nightes' in i. iii. 222 ('Shall be extint with age and endlesse nightes'), and 'a moate' for 'moate' in ii. i. 48 ('Or as moate defenfue to a house'). Both these carry their own proof. In D, the Quarto of 1615, there is not a single correction of a blunder of A's, though some forty-five of those noted as such by the Cambridge editors had as yet passed untinkered.

This closes our review of the history of the text of the First Quarto as successively reprinted in the four later Quartos issued before 1623. Of the original 69 errors, or what the Cambridge editors account as such, in this First Quarto, only 25 had been corrected, and no fewer than 214 new errors had been introduced, of which only nine were stopped on the way. We argue from this that the intermediate Quartos, and more especially the

Second (B), have no authority entitling them to correct the First unless the corrections are self-evidently right, and therefore submit that some eight or nine of the corrections embodied in the Cambridge text should not have been accepted, but that the text of the First Quarto should have been allowed to stand, and the total of its misdoings reduced accordingly. We have still to apply the same process to the text of the First Folio, inquiring whence it was derived and what probability there is that any additional authority was available for its preparation. But before passing on to this we have first to consider the problems raised by the additional 166 lines introduced in 1608 into the single scene which forms Act IV, and also the changes introduced in the later Quartos in punctuation and initial capitals.

Copies of the Quarto of 1608 are found bearing two different title-pages. The earlier of these (the order is self-evident) reads :

THE | Tragedie of King | Richard the second. | As it hath
been publikey acted by the Right | Honourable the Lord
Chamberlaine | his seruantes. | By *William Shake-speare*. [White's
device.] LONDON, | Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are
to be | fold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at | the signe of
the Foxe. | 1608.

The later :

THE | Tragedie of King | Richard the Second : | With new
additions of the Parlia- | ment Sceane, and the deposing | of
King Richard. | As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges |
Majesties seruantes, at the Globe. | By *William Shake-speare*
[White's device.] AT LONDON, | Printed by W. W. for
Mathew Law, and are to | be fold at his shop in Paules Church-
yard, | at the signe of the Foxe. | 1608.

Desire to advertise the 'new additions' was presumably one reason for the substitution of a new title

for that which followed the wording of the earlier Quartos. Perhaps equal weight was attached to informing book-buyers with short memories that the Lord Chamberlain's servants of the previous reign were now entitled to call themselves the King's Majesty's Servants, the play being thus invested with a semblance of royal sanction. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the play, known to be an old one, still held the stage, and no second-rate stage either, but that of the famous Globe Theatre. As to the 'new additions' themselves, specified as consisting 'of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard', most students who have read the text will, I think, agree that what is represented is not a deposing, but an abdication, and that it is very difficult indeed to conceive of any such scene having taken place in Parliament, i.e. in the House of Peers. Dramatically also, we are tempted to submit, the incident is not a success. The business with the looking-glass and the desired boon which turns into a request to be allowed to go away, if they move pity, also lessen respect, and with the parting with the Queen and the soliloquy at Pomfret Castle still to come, the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1597 may not impossibly have thought that there was a danger of 'too much Richard' and cut the lines out in the acting version from which the First Quarto was printed. It may be heretical to suggest this (I do not claim to be the first heretic, if so), but some such considerations seem to me likely to have reinforced any fear that the passage might be viewed unfavourably at Court after the Pope had issued his Bull in 1596 declaring Elizabeth deposed.¹ By 1608, however, Shakespeare had

¹ Logically, to omit, because of the Pope's Bull, lines intended to enlist sympathy on the side of Richard, was absurd. But in times of political excitement logic counts for little.

become a much more important person than in 1597, when it was apparently not thought worth while to print his name on a title-page. When, therefore, the play was revived, the omitted 166 lines were restored to their place, as 'new additions', and Mathew Lawe succeeded in incorporating them into his reprint. He may have done this either by buying a copy of the new lines from the Globe Company, or by suborning some one employed in the theatre to make a surreptitious copy, or by persuading some one employed in the theatre or sent to it for the purpose to take down the lines in shorthand, or to learn them by heart and dictate them to the printers. The text has too many omissions and too many mistakes in line arrangement to allow us to believe that it was obtained for cash from the King's servants as a body, or transcribed from an acting copy of the part, and the same reasons, with the added improbability of any one high in the hierarchy of the Globe playing traitor for the sake of the small sum Mathew Lawe would be likely to pay for an addition to a sixpenny play, forbids us to identify the 'some one employed in the theatre' with the actor who took Richard's part. The 'additions' may thus have been obtained from some subordinate person employed about the theatre, but were more probably procured by means of shorthand writers specially sent there for the purpose, the subsequent complaints of Heywood informing us of two such thefts 'by stenography' about this time.

As regards punctuation there is a double tale to tell. In the set speeches the punctuation of the First Quarto, if we remember that it is dramatic and not grammatical, will be found sufficiently complete and intelligent to entitle us to believe that Shakespeare punctuated these portions of his own manuscript with some care, and that the Quarto reproduces this punctuation with very much

the same substantial fidelity that it reproduces the words of the text. Two examples of colons entirely super-grammatical, but very effective in the emphasis which the pauses they denote lend to the words which follow, may be cited as evidence of the essentially dramatic character of the punctuation.

In the Cambridge edition lines 1. i. 92-100 are thus printed :

Besides I say and will in battle prove,
 Or here or elsewhere to the furthest verge
 That ever was survey'd by English eye,
 That all the treasons for these eighteen years 95
 Complotted and contrived in this land
 Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.
 Further I say, and further will maintain
 Upon his bad life to make all this good,
 That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death . . .

Plump at the end of l. 96, separating 'treasons' from its verb, the Quarto inserts a colon, and the line 'Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring' comes rushing out after the pause with doubled effect. And at the end of this line, shade of Lindley Murray! there is no full stop—only a comma; for Bolingbroke will not give Mowbray a chance to interrupt him, but dashes on with his second accusation, with only an imperceptible pause. In the earlier lines, on the other hand, when he is preparing the way for his rush, Bolingbroke's measured tones are marked by two stops which the Cambridge editors omit, a comma after 'say' in l. 92, and another after 'here' in the next line. Grammatically a comma after 'here' should entail another after 'elsewhere', but dramatic punctuation sets no store on pairing its commas and usually omits either one or the other.

Our second instance of a colon emphasizing the words that follow it is from Richard's announcement (11. i.

159-62) of his intention to seize John of Gaunt's goods to pay for the Irish war. This is printed in the First Quarto:

And for these great affaires do aske some charge,
Towards our assistance we doe feaze to vs :
The plate, coine, reuenewes, and moueables
Wherof our Vnckle Gaunt did stand posselt.

York's speech of protest against this confiscation ends with a full stop which is quite misleading when reproduced in a modern edition. We have, indeed, no means now of conveying its exact effect. A full stop with us means the end of a sentence. A full stop in a play of Shakespeare's means a pause of a certain length without any necessary grammatical implication. York has been speaking for some twenty lines and has begun a comparison between the Black Prince and Richard, his unworthy son. Then come our lines (II. i. 184 sqq.):

Oh Richard : Yorke is too far gone with griefe,
Or else he neuer would compare betweene.
King. Why Vnckle whats the matter ?

The sentence is not finished, for York breaks down, and the King, who has been paying no attention to him whatever, but has been walking round the room appraising the value of its contents, at the sound of his sob turns round, and with his usual superficial good nature, exclaims 'Why Vnckle whats the matter ?' A dash after 'betweene' would show that York's sentence is unfinished, but a dash gives us no indication of the length of the pause, whereas by using supergrammatical stops, or no stop at all, Elizabethan punctuation can tell us all about it.

Full stops are very sparingly used within a speech, because the pause they denoted was long enough to give the other man a chance to interrupt, and to avoid an impression of tameness on his part colons were preferred. In the opening speeches of Bolingbroke and Mowbray

full stops are only used as the speakers turn from addressing the King to denouncing each other. In Bolingbroke's second speech one comes (i. i. 72) at the end of the four lines during which he throws down his gage. He pauses for Mowbray to take it up; but Mowbray does not, and Bolingbroke continues contemptuously,

If guilty dread haue left thee so much strength,
As to take vp mine honours pawn, then stowpe,

and hurries on :

By that, and all the rites of Knighthoode else,
Will I make good against thee arme to arme,
What I have spoke, or thou canst worfe deuise.

The next speech of Bolingbroke's has no internal full stop. That of Mowbray (i. i. 124-51) has two; the first after his exclamation 'Now swallow downe that lie'; the second, when he turns from John of Gaunt to the King.

In the next scene the only internal full stops in a speech come in the long harangue of the Duchess of Gloucester. The first of them (at l. 21) tells us, I think, that she breaks down; the second preludes her final appeal :

What shall I saie ? to safegard thine own life,
The best way is to venge my Glocesters death.

In the long third scene, comprising over three hundred lines, the first internal full stop comes at l. 68, when Bolingbroke turns to address his father; the second at l. 122, dividing what are really two separate speeches by the King, before and after the flourish of trumpets; the third, at l. 270, preludes a question; the fourth, in Gaunt's farewell to his son (l. 280), once more, I think, suggests a struggle with emotion, which would lend added point to the words which follow :

Woe doth the heauier fit,
Where it perceiues it is but faintly borne.

In Scene iv one internal full stop (l. 22) marks a pause full of meaning after Richard's words as to Bolingbroke :

He is our Coofens Coofin, but tis doubt,
When time fhall call him home from banifhment,
Whether our kinfman come to fee his friends.

The only other one (l. 60) again comes at the close of a sinister sentence :

Now put it (God) in the Phyfitions mind,
To help him to his grave immediatly :
The lining of his coffers fhall make coates
To decke our fouldiers for thefe Irish warres.

After which Richard turns to his favourites and bids them

Come gentlemen, lets all go vifite him,
Pray God we may make hafte and come too late.

It would be wearisome to continue this examination through the other four acts of the play, but I think it will be found that what I have called an internal full stop in a speech has almost always some special dramatic significance, which in a modern play would be expressed by a stage direction.

The full stop being used thus sparingly, except at the end of a speech, and the semi-colon appearing but seldom, the work of internal punctuation falls almost entirely on the colon and the comma.

Instances have already been given of the need, where a colon is used when we should expect a lighter stop, of looking out for the reason. In another passage (III. ii. 4-11) we find it used, together with the unusual semi-colon, in a way explained in the last of the lines here quoted. Richard is returned from Ireland and Aumerle asks him

How brookes your Grace the ayre
After your late tofsing on the breaking feaſ ?

The King answers :

Needes must I like it well, I weepe for ioy,
To stand vpon my kingdome once againe :
Deere earth I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses hooves :
As a long parted mother with her childe
Plays fondly with her teares and smiles in meeting ;
So weeping, smiling greete I thee my earth,
And do thee fauours with my royall hands ;

Clearly he has sat down on a bank, and between these unrhymed couplets is caressing the earth. As a rule he is a rapid speaker, seldom needing a heavier stop than a comma, and the contrast to his usual style which we find in one speech (III. iii. 142, &c.) is very marked :

What must the King do now ? must he submit ?
The King shall do it : must he be depofde ?
The king shall be contented : must he loose
The name of King ? a Gods name let it go :
Ile giue my iewels for a set of Beades :
My gorgeous pallace for a hermitage :
My gay apparel for an almesmans gowne :
My figurde goblets for a dish of wood :
My scepter for a Palmers walking staffe :
My subiects for a paire of carued Saintes,
And my large kingdome for a little graue,
A little little graue, an obscure graue,
Or Ile be buried in the Kings hie way,
Some way of common trade, where subiects feete
May hourelly trample on their foueraignes head ;
For on my heart they treade now whilst I liue :
And buried once, why not vpon my head ?

It is impossible to believe that these definite instructions for the time at which these lines are to be taken, instructions which, if carried out, enhance so greatly the beauty of the passage, can have proceeded from any one but Shakespeare himself. The colourless punctuation

substituted for it in modern editions is a crime, only to be explained, like most crimes, by the fact that the editors did not know what they were doing.

Commas, when they seem to us superfluous, are usually rhythmical. Scores of them are put at the end of lines, merely to warn the actor that he must not run it hastily into the next, and the signals might well receive attention from many modern speakers of Shakespeare's verse, who struggle mechanically to get away from the line-endings. Where a comma takes the place of a heavier stop, it usually only means that the passage is to be taken lightly. Here and there it may have dramatic significance. Thus (1. iii. 97-9¹) when Richard bids farewell to Mowbray and orders the combat to begin, as it were in the same breath, there may be a suggestion of insincerity; but my impression is that Shakespeare paid little attention to punctuation except in what may be called the set speeches, and along with obviously careful stopping there is a good deal which is equally obviously careless, and many sins of omission. I am anxious, therefore, not to claim too much.

A detailed examination of the punctuation of the four subsequent Quartos would be tedious, and is fortunately not necessary, as the trend of the changes made can be expressed in general terms. While the punctuation used in ordinary books in Shakespeare's day was not the same as ours, it was much nearer to ours than the dramatic punctuation at examples of which we have just been looking. Even if the First Quarto had been fully punctuated throughout, the later ones would almost certainly have tended to revert to a more normal use of stops, and

¹ Farewell (my Lord) securely I espie,
Vertue with Valour couched in thine eie,
Order the trial Martiall, and beginne.

the fact that, except in the set speeches, the First Quarto is patently underpunctuated, offered a further encouragement to tinkering. Both in B and W we find this process at work : missing commas are supplied, and we find more full stops creeping into the set speeches. In C, the Quarto of 1608, the tendency to heavier punctuation becomes very marked, and along with it we may note a no less marked increase in the emphasis capitals. These in the first three Quartos had been used only sparingly. In A only about a hundred different words are given an initial capital. Many of these have to do with royalty and its appurtenances (King, Queen, Highness, Sovereign, Majesty, Liege, Prince, Realm, Crown, Sceptre, Coronation), titles of honour (Peers, Lords, Duke, Grace, Knighthood, Knight, Ladies, Madam), professions and occupations (Clergy, Attorneys, Physician, Actor, Beggar, Gaoler), mental states lending themselves more or less to personification (Fear, Reverence, Patience, Sorrow, Grief, Envy, Rage, Shame, Cowardice, Despair, Virtue, Valour, Hope), and other ideas which may almost be said to claim capitals in their own right. The most important group of instances for our purpose is that formed by more or less ornamental or rhetorical phrases (furthest Verge, tongueless Caverns of the earth, the Falcon's flight, Author of my blood, Eagle-winged pride, blindfold Death, the Jewels that I love, the setting Sun and Music at the close, a tenement or pelting Farm, a Prophet's eye, redeem from broking Pawn the blemisht Crown, drinking Oceans dry, a set of Beads, a Palmer's walking staff, a pair of carved Saints, unruly Jades, immaculate and silver Fountain), and the metaphorical use of Lions, Leopards, Spiders, Adder, Serpent, Pelican, Camel. There is hardly any use of capitals for maledictory emphasis, and what may be called haphazard capitals are very rare.

In B and W there is a slight tendency to reduce the capitals in ornamental phrases, and though a few new capitals are introduced there is no general increase on balance.¹

In C, the Quarto of 1608, we find a notable increase of emphasis capitals, not consistently maintained, but in the aggregate considerable and in some passages very marked, Thus the lines i. i. 87-91 are printed :

Bol. Looke what I sayd, my life fhall prooue it true,
That Mowbray hath receiude eight thousand Nobles,
In name of lendinges, for your Highnesse Souldiours :
The which he hath detainde for leawd imployments,
Like a false Traytour, and iniurious Villaine.

The First Quarto (we take no account of proper names) prints 'Lendings', apparently as we might use inverted commas, and 'Highnes', but uses lower case instead of the other four capitals.

Lines i. i. 177-85 were printed in 1608 as :

The purest treafure mortall times affoord,
Is spotlesse reputation, that away ;²
Men are but gilded Loame or painted Clay :
A Iewell in a tenne times bard vp Chest,
Is a bold Spirit in a loyall Breaft.
Mine Honour is my life, both grow in one ;
Take Honour from me, and my life is done.
Then (deare my Leige) mine Honour let me try,
In that I liue, and for that will I die.

The First Quarto gives a capital (which C denies) to Reputation and also to Liege ; the other nine it prints in lower case.

¹ It is perhaps well to point out that one reason for the moderation may have been that Valentine Sims had only a small stock of upper-case letters to use. This was certainly true in 1597 of his supply of the letter T, since we find him using varieties from two other founts.

² We are tempted to suppose that the comma and semi-colon in this line have changed places ; but the semi-colon may represent a pause before a declamatory line. The First Quarto omits both stops.

Again, take lines 11. iii. 118-28 from Bolingbroke's very clever speech to that exasperating person 'good old Yorke'. In 1608 they were printed :

You are my Father, [f]or me thinks in you
I see old Gaunt aliue. Oh then Father,
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd
A wandering Vagabond, my rights and royalties
Pluckt from my Armes perforce, and giuen away
To vpstart Vnthrifts ? wherefore was I borne ?
If that my Coofin King be King of England,
It must be graunted I am Duke of Lancafter :
You haue a Sonne, Aumerle, my noble Coofin,
Had you first died, and he been thus trod downe,
He should haue found his Vnckle Gaunt a father,
To rouze his wronges, and chafe them to the Bay.

Except for proper names in these twelve lines the only capitals in the First Quarto are reserved for the word 'King'. In 1608 no fewer than eleven others were added.

The foregoing examples are selected, not average ones ; but the increase in these emphasis capitals and also in the weight of the punctuation in 1608, if not so great as they suggest, is still real and indisputable. It is perhaps worth mentioning that they are accompanied by a slightly broader spelling. Whether Master White's compositors made these changes out of their own heads or whether by any chance they were playgoers and reproduced in these ways new theatrical fashions, we must not inquire. As for the 1615 Quarto, this follows that of 1608 too closely to need separate examination, but on the whole reduces its capitals. As we shall see, the Folio of 1623 generally adopts the heavier style, and to the Folio we must now turn.

Turning our attention first of all to the Text, we start, as the result of our tables, with ample evidence that the Folio stands on altogether a higher plane than the later

Quartos. It corrects exactly as many ($24\frac{1}{2}$) of the mistakes, i. e. the readings rejected as such by the Cambridge editors, of A as all the later Quartos put together, and whereas of the mistakes of B the three later Quartos only set right six, the Folio corrects as many as 58. Of the mistakes of W it corrects 15; of those introduced by C and D no fewer than 47 out of 55, while three others occur in lines which it omits. We have already noted the possibility that its seeming success as regards these last two Quartos may really have been due to its having been set up from W. Even if this were so, however, in the correction in the Folio of so many errors of A, B, and W, we should have evidence of a real effort at revision as opposed to the haphazard corrections of the Quartos. On the other hand the revision as regards the errors of A, B, and W, was very far from being complete. Some 20 mistakes of A were left untouched, 59 of B, and 18 of W, so that the old errors of these three Quartos left uncorrected amount to no fewer than 97. As the readings of A which the Cambridge editors reject amount only to 69 we start with the fact that, even if no new errors had been introduced by the printers of the First Folio, its text would still have been considerably more faulty than that of the First Quarto. Just, however, as the printers of the later Quartos had been unable to avoid introducing new mistakes, so the printers of the First Folio were unable to avoid introducing them.

In attempting an estimate of the number of new errors in the First Folio we have to proceed with some caution. If every reading in it which the Cambridge editors reject were to be reckoned as an error, the number would be very large, slightly exceeding the total of the original sins of B. To count all these rejected readings, however, as mistakes would be very unjust to the editors of the Folio,

precisely because they were the editors, not of a single play, but of all the plays of Shakespeare which they could find. As editors of a collected edition they had a right to adopt, and did adopt, a style of their own. How far they were consistent in this respect is a large question with which we are not here concerned. But we can see that in this play of *King Richard II* they made certain changes which may reasonably be regarded as within an editor's competence, and it is only fair to put these on one side.

One of the changes in the First Folio, the general substitution of the word 'Heaven' for 'God', stands by itself. King James considered the use of the word 'God' on the stage as irreverent, and the substitution of 'Heaven' being imposed on the players by external authority cannot be laid to their charge. Next in frequency to this come instances of letters being elided to mark the way in which the word should be pronounced. As to whether such elisions are good or bad opinions will differ. When I wrote Latin verses in the lower forms of my school I was taught to substitute apostrophes for elided syllables, but the appearance of these in my first copy of verses in the Sixth was treated as a reflection on the composition master's power of seeing how a line should be read. My own belief that 'elided' syllables should almost always be pronounced, but so lightly as not to interfere with the rhythm of the verse, makes me now resent elisions and contractions almost as keenly as he did,¹ but not to the point of reckoning every indulgence

¹ On the day after I wrote this I took up *Brontë Poems*, edited by Mr. A. C. Benson, and found this stanza :

I saw her stand in the gallery long,
Watching those little children there
As they were playing the pillars 'mong,
And bounding down the marble stair
with the note to 'playing': 'A monosyllable. Emily Brontë so

in them as a mistake, more especially on the part of actors, to whom such finger-posts to the correct rhythm of a line were, of course, of great use. Thus we may rule out of our list of Folio 'errors' all such readings as 'liv'ft', 'breath'ft' (i. ii. 24), 'shew'ft' (ib. 31), 'go'ft' (ib. 45), 'com'ft' (i. iii. 33), 'he's' (ib. 39), 'flatter'ft' (ii. i. 90), 'thou'dst' for 'thou wouldst' (ib. 232), 'th'Exchequer' (ii. iii. 65), 'prethee' for 'praythee' (iii. ii. 20), 'em' for 'them' (ib. 211), 'you'l' for 'you will' (iii. iv. 90), 'what's' (v. ii. 73), 'is't' (ib. 76), 'she's' (v. iii. 82), 'o'th' (v. v. 60), 'th'' (ib. 101), &c.; also 'knoweft' in iii. ii. 36, where the Cambridge editors think it necessary to print 'knowft'. Rather than seem to be pressing the case against the First Folio I would also admit 'yond' for 'yon' in ii. iii. 53, iii. iii. 26 and iii. iii. 135, as merely a matter of spelling. In the same way 'O' or 'Oh' for 'Ah' (ii. i. 163, ii. ii. 52), 'o' for 'a' (ii. i. 251) and 'ought' for 'aught' (v. ii. 53), also 'bond' for 'band' in v. ii. 65, can none of them be regarded as sins. We may also readily throw in 'mine' for 'my' in i. i. 191 and 'my' for 'mine' in v. ii. 78 in each case before 'honour', and 'thine' for 'thy' in i. iii. 14 and v. iii. 76.

Even when all these allowances are made¹ the following list of readings rejected by the Cambridge editors amounts to just a hundred.

pronounced, it is plain, words like "being", "doing", "going". In opposition to this I submit that 'playing' may be as small a fraction more than a monosyllable as you please, but it must be more; also that the line is perfectly easy to read with this additional fraction and also with the additional fraction involved in reading 'among' for 'mong', though I presume this latter form is due to Emily Brontë herself and not to Mr. Benson.

¹ As in the case of the Quartos we must add to them a certain number of negligenda, e.g. 'ueuer' for 'neuer' (i. iii. 183), 'Anmerle' for 'Aumerle' (i. iv. 1), &c.

Letters omitted (12)

I. iii. 69	<i>reads</i>	earthy	<i>for</i>	earthly.
I. iii. 186		or (reconcile)		nor.
I. iii. 302		euer		neuer.
I. iv. 15		word		words.
II. i. 110		his		this.
II. ii. 27		weepe		weepes.
II. ii. 99		come		comes.
II. iii. 6		our		your.
II. iii. 35		direction		directions.
III. iii. 93		ope		open.
III. iii. 202		hand		hands.
V. v. 29		misfortune		misfortunes.

Letters added (10)

I. i. 77	<i>reads</i>	fpoken	<i>for</i>	fpoke.
I. ii. 8		raigne		raine.
I. iii. 17		comes		come.
I. iii. 86		Kings (Richards)		King.
I. iii. 128		fwords		fword.
II. iii. 145		wrongs		wrong.
III. iv. 24		comes		come.
III. iv. 69		doubted		doubt.
V. ii. 58		fees		fee.
V. ii. 109		nor		or.

Letters substituted (5)

I. ii. 20	<i>reads</i>	leafes	<i>for</i>	leaues.
—		vaded		faded.
II. i. 109		were		wert.
II. i. 118		chafing		chafing.
III. iii. 66		tract		track.

Words omitted (5)

II. iii. 87	<i>reads</i>	nor vncl me	<i>for</i>	nor vncl me no vncl.
II. iii. 134		And		And I.
III. ii. 55		from		off from.
V. ii. 18		one		the one.
V. v. 17		needles		small needles.

Words transposed (6)

I. i. 137	<i>reads</i>	I did	<i>for</i>	did I.
II. i. 127		Thou haft		Haft thou.
II. iii. 29		we laft		laft we.
IV. i. 9		it hath once		once it hath.
IV. i. 112		of that name the fourth		fourth of that name.
V. iii. 9		rob . . . beat		beat . . . rob.
V. v. 58		houres . . . times		times . . . houres.

Words substituted (61)

I. i. 57	<i>reads</i>	doubly	<i>for</i>	doubled.
I. i. 73		hath		haue.
I. i. 116		our (kingdoms)		my.
I. i. 157		time		month.
I. i. 186		down		vp.
I. ii. 1		Glousters		Woodstocks.
I. ii. 23		mettle		mettall.
I. ii. 43		to (defence)		and.
I. iii. 20		his (fucceeding iffue)		my.
I. iii. 28		placed		plated.
I. iii. 55		luft		right.
I. iii. 71		rigor		vigor.
I. iii. 76		furnifh		furbifh.
I. iii. 82		amaz'd		aduerfe.
I. iii. 140		death		life.
I. iii. 198		this (realm)		the.
I. iii. 227		fudden		fullen.
I. iv. 7		grew		blew.
I. iv. 28		foules		fmiles.
I. iv. 54		verie		griuous.
I. iv. 59		his (phyficians)		the.
II. i. 12		is (the clofe)		at.
II. i. 27		That		Then.
II. i. 52		for (their birth)		by.
II. i. 202		his (letters patents)		the.
II. ii. 3		felſe-harming		life-harming ¹ .

¹ W, C, and D read 'halfe-harming'.

II. ii. 126	<i>reads</i>	impossible	<i>for</i>	vnpossible.
II. iii. 90		these		those.
II. iii. 125		kinsman		cousin.
III. ii. 35		friends		power.
III. ii. 43		lightning		light.
III. ii. 84		fluggard		coward.
III. ii. 102		Losse(, Decay)		and.
III. ii. 139		hand		wound.
III. ii. 178		wail their present		fit and wail
		woes		their woes.
III. ii. 203		faction		party.
III. iii. 36		vpon		on.
III. iii. 91		is		stands.
III. iii. 127		our felfe		our felues.
III. iii. 171		mock		laugh.
III. iv. 100		this		these.
IV. i. 33		sympathize		sympathy.
IV. i. 145		reare		raise.
V. i. 44		fall		tale.
V. i. 66		friends		men.
V. i. 71		ye		you
V. i. 78		Queene		wife.
V. ii. 22		Alas		Alac.
V. ii. 81		fonne		Aumerle.
V. iii. 14		those		these.
V. iii. 21		dayes		yeares.
V. iii. 50		reason		treason.
V. iii. 63		had		held. ¹
V. iii. 93		kneele		walk.
V. iv. 3		Those		These.
V. v. 13-14		faith . . . faith		word . . . word
V. v. 33		treason makes		treasons make
V. v. 38		am		be.
V. v. 46		heare		check.
V. v. 56		that		which.
V. vi. 8		Salisbury, Spencer		Oxford,
				Salisbury.

¹ W, C, and D read 'hald'.

If any one will take the trouble to examine these 100 readings rejected by the Cambridge editors he will see that one large group of them are obviously careless blunders, which must certainly be debited to the printers, and another large group petty tinkering, sometimes giving a slightly easier reading, more often only a harmless alternative, but never one which strongly demands assent.

As examples of blunders we may cite 'doubly' for 'doubled' (I. i. 57), 'placed' for 'plated' (I. iii. 28), 'earthy' for 'earthly' (I. iii. 69), 'rigor' for 'vigour' (I. iii. 71), 'furnish' for 'furbish' (I. iii. 76), 'fudden' for 'fullen' (I. iii. 227), 'grew' for 'blew' (I. iv. 7), 'foules' for 'fsmiles' (I. iv. 28), 'is' for 'at' (II. i. 12, 'music at the clofe'), 'chafing' for 'chafing' (II. i. 118), &c.

As examples of unimportant alternatives we take 'time' for 'month' in I. i. 157 ('this is no month to bleed'), 'just' for 'right' in I. iii. 55, 'verie' for 'grievous' in I. iv. 54 ('Olde Iohn of Gaunt is grievous ficke'), 'his' for 'the' in I. iv. 59, 'kinsman' for 'cousin' in II. iii. 125, 'friends' for 'power' in III. ii. 35 ('great in substance and in power'), 'fluggard' for 'coward' in III. ii. 84 ('Awake thou coward Maiefty thou sleepest'), this being an improvement, 'losse' for 'and' in III. ii. 102 ('Crie woe, destruction, ruin and decay'), 'hand' for 'wound' in III. ii. 139 ('Haue felt the worst of deathes destroying wound'), where 'wound' rhymes with 'ground' and 'hand' would clash with 'hands' in the previous line, 'faction' for 'party' in III. ii. 203, 'is' for 'stands' in III. iii. 91 ('for yon me thinkes he standes'), 'mock' for 'laugh' in III. iii. 171, 'reare' for 'raise' in IV. i. 145, 'fall' for 'tale' in V. i. 44 ('Tell thou the lamentable tale of me'), 'Queene' for 'wife' in V. i. 78, 'sonne' for 'Aumerle' in V. ii. 81, 'dayes' for 'yeares' in V. iii. 21,

'kneele' for 'walke' in v. iii. 93, 'faith . . . faith' for 'word . . . word' in v. v. 13 seq. ('fet the word it self Against the word'), 'am' for 'be' in v. v. 38, 'heare' for 'check' in v. v. 46 ('To checke time broke in a disordered string'), 'that' for 'which' in v. v. 56.

Our first group answers to the printers' errors, 'all of which can be easily and certainly corrected', of Mr. Daniel's Introduction to the Facsimile of the Devonshire Quarto of 1597 (p. xvi); our second to his 'varying readings'. Here and there we may hesitate as to how a given reading should be classed. For instance, 'amaz'd' for 'aduerse' in i. iii. 82 ('Of thy aduerse pernitiuous enemy') looks like a variant. Taking the line by itself it even looks like a good variant, as 'aduerse' is rather an otiose epithet to apply to 'enemy'. But when we take the full sentence :

And let thy blowes doubly redoubled
Fall like amazing thunder on the caske
Of thy aduerse pernitiuous enemy

there seems at least a chance that the new reading 'amaz'd' may be merely a printer's error suggested by 'amazing' in the line above. The distinction, however, is generally easy to draw. On the other hand there are two variants which seem to stand clearly by themselves as (a) requiring some historical knowledge, and (b) being of a kind which any one who possessed this knowledge would have been almost sure to make if he had the chance. These are the substitution in i. ii. 1 ('Alas, the parte I had in Woodstockes blood') of 'Glousters' for 'Woodstockes', and in v. vi. 8 ('The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt, and Kent') of 'Salsbury, Spencer', for 'Oxford, Salisbury'. The first of these changes avoids the confusion which might be caused by speaking in this single instance of Thomas of Woodstock as 'Woodstock',

whereas elsewhere in the play he is invariably called by his title as (Duke of) Gloucester. In the second case a positive error is corrected, as Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was not involved in the conspiracy in question, whereas 'Spencer', i. e. Thomas Despencer, was.

Mr. Daniel writes (p. xviii) of these two readings :

These clearly are instances of revision, and to be adopted : and as I see no reason for placing the other variations¹ of the folio text in any other position than that which is occupied by these I conclude that, unless otherwise discredited, all must be accepted, even though the object of the change may not be so apparent, or perhaps in our judgement so beneficial.

Elsewhere (p. xvii) he speaks of these changes as 'made at an early date', 'when the play was first produced, or at any rate during the process of its settling down into its position as an acting play', and as therefore being 'probably sanctioned, if not actually made, by the author himself'. He would, therefore, admit all the Folio variants into the text. The Cambridge editors, on the other hand, having an eye only to what Shakespeare wrote, as distinguished from what he may, or may not, have 'sanctioned', reject the greater number of them, including the two corrections just considered. There are, however, some twenty-four instances in which they have accepted readings first found in the Folio, and at these we must now look. Three of them are of the kind which we have treated as merely a matter of editorial practice. These are 'returnft' for 'returnest' (i. iii. 254), 'that's' for 'that is' (ii. ii. 129), and 'he's' for 'he is' (iv. i. 89). 'You owe' for the quite perverse 'y'owe', by which the First Quarto spoils the metre of i. iii. 180 ('Sweare by the duty that y'owe to God') is a real correction, though one which needs no private

¹ i. e. variations as opposed to printers' errors. A. W. P.

information to account for it. The substitution of 'fit' for 'fet' in i. ii. 47 ('O fet my husbands wronges on Herefords speare'), and 'pinnes' for 'pines' in iii. iv. 26 ('My wretchednes vnto a row of pines') may be regarded at pleasure either as matters of spelling or as fairly important corrections. As already noted (p. 61), the words 'fit' and 'fet' were liable to the same confusion as 'lie' and 'lay' are still, and the superiority of one over the other in this context is not striking. In the other case Pope was deceived by the reading 'pines' and emended the line into 'My wretchedness suits with a row of pines'; but it is probable that 'pines' was only a misspelling for 'pinnes' or 'pins' though a very unhappy one. In i. i. 152 ('Wrath kindled gentleman be ruled by me'), the correction 'gentlemen', and in ii. ii. 16

For Sorrowes eyes glazed with blinding teares
Diuides one thing entire to many obiects

the substitution of 'eye' for 'eyes' (as an alternative to substituting 'Diuide' for 'Diuides') were dictated by the context. In i. iv. 20 ('He is our Coofens Coofin') the Folio's change of 'Coofens' to 'Cofin', though accepted by the Cambridge editors, seems not beyond challenge.¹

¹ Aumerle, who had ridden a little way with the banished Hereford, ostensibly as a mark of sympathy, has just said that if the word 'Farewell' would have added years to Hereford's exile

He should have had a volume of farewells :
But since it would not, he had none of me.

Now Richard, unless badly provoked, is always himself soft of speech, and it would seem quite in keeping with Shakespeare's presentment of him that he should treat Aumerle's outburst somewhat coldly. The Quarto makes him begin his reply :

He is our Coofens Coofin, but tis doubt,
When time shall call him home from banishment,
Whether our kinfman come to see his friends.

Aumerle is reminded with a touch of formality that Hereford is his

The one reading of the eleven involving the change of only a single letter, which seems to me at once certain and at the same time hardly to be reckoned as obvious, is the substitution of 'incaged' for 'inraged' in 11. i. 102. The passage reads in the First Quarto :

A thousand flatterers fit within thy Crowne,
Whose compasse is no bigger than thy head,
And yet inraged in so small a verge,
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.

It cannot be said that 'incaged' is an impossible correction for the printer's reader to have evolved out of his inner consciousness and the context, but I do not personally feel justified in assuming that this was how it originated.

Passing from single letters to words we find the First Folio restoring an obviously needed 'my' in 1. i. 118 ('Now by [my] scepters awe I make a vow'), and a hardly less obvious 'then' in 1. iii. 172 ('What is thy sentence [then] but speechlesse death?'), and 'the' in 11. iii. 99 ('Were I but now [the] Lord of such hot youth'). In 111. iii. 13, by adding 'with you' in antithesis to 'with him' it achieved the restoration to sense and rhythm of three lines which the First Quarto had printed as:

The time hath bin, would you haue beene so briefe with him
He would haue bin so briefe to shorten you,
For taking so the head your whole heads length.

This in the Folio reads

The time hath beene
Would you haue beene so briefe with him, he would
Haue been so briefe with you, to shorten you,
For taking so the Head, your whole heads length.

own cousin, and there is an ironical suggestion of regret that in spite of this he may not be recalled. For Richard to call him 'our coufin' and 'our kinsman' in the same breath seems redundant.

Here also it seems fairly arguable, though not certain, that the acumen required is beyond what we have a right to assume in the editor of the Folio, and obliges us to presume some external help.

Two other instances in which the Cambridge editors admit Folio additions are somewhat less convincing. In i. iv. 23 seq.,

Our felfe and Bushie

Observed his courtship to the common people,

the half line is filled out in the Folio so as to read

Our felfe and Bushy : heere Bagot and Greene.

This the Quarto of 1634 emended to

Our felfe, and Bushy, Bagot here and Greene,

which (omitting the comma after ' felfe ') the Cambridge editors accept. I confess this makes on me the same impression as the expansion by a certain Mr. Seymour of York's ' Tut, tut ! ' in ii. iii. 86 into ' Tut, tut, boy : go to ! ' in order in the same way to eke out a line. I do not believe that Shakespeare wrote either the one or the other. In iii. ii. 134 I am again recalcitrant. The First Quarto prints this passage :

Three Iudaffes, each one thrife worfe then Iudas,

Would they make peace ? terrible hel,

Make war vpon their spotted foules for this.

In the second line the words ' make peace ? ' are a cry of rage which can only be adequately rendered by giving to each the time of a whole foot. The next two words are pronounced slowly, and after ' hel ' there is a slight pause marked by the dramatic comma, and then the next line follows with a swift rush. Some one, however, as I think, whether actor, editor, or press-corrector, could only see that the middle line was short of two syllables, so supplied these from the opening words of the next,

and made good the loss by adding a pitifully weak word at the end, thus giving the Folio reading :

Would they make peace ? terrible Hell make warre
Vpon their spotted Soules for this Offence.

Despite the large H and S and O this is surely far weaker than the other, and I cannot believe that Shakespeare either wrote it or approved it.

As against these expansions we have in v. ii. 52 a curtailment. The full passage reads in the First Quarto :

Yorke. Well, beare you wel in this new spring of time,
Left you be cropt before you come to prime.
What newes from Oxford, do these iusts & triumphs hold ?

Aum. For aught I know (my Lord) they do.

Yorke. you will be there I know.

Aum. If God preuent not, I purpose so.

Yorke. What feale is that that hangs without thy bosome ?
yea, lookst thou pale ? let me see the writing.

It will be noted that York's speech begins with a rhymed couplet rounding off the previous colloquy. Then come a long line and three short ones in which the dramatic tension and with it the dramatic rhythm are completely relaxed, to be resumed at full pressure when next York speaks. Now the Folio cut down the long line to

What newes from Oxford ? Hold those Iusts & Triumphs ?

but leaves the three short lines untouched. The Cambridge editors accept both the curtailment and the refusal to tinker further. Rowe and Pope between them, on the other hand, botched the three short lines into two of the regulation length :

Aum. For aught I know they do.

Yorke. You will be there.

Aum. If God prevent me not, I purpose so.

And if the Folio treatment of the long line is accepted,

it is hard to see why Rowe and Pope should not be allowed their way.

We have still to struggle with eight cases of word-substitution. Four of these are obvious, viz. 'comft' for 'comes' in i. iii. 33 ('Against whom comes thou?'), 'the' for 'a' in ii. i. 177 ('Accomplisht with a number of thy howers'), 'too' for 'two' in iii. iv. 34 ('Cut off the heads of two fast growing spraes'), and 'shall' for 'still' in v. iii. 106 ('Our knees still kneele till to the ground they grow'), though I am not sure that the slight absurdity of this last line as it stands in the Quarto must not be debited to Shakespeare himself. In v. i. 25 the Cambridge editors accept 'ftricken' instead of 'throwne' ('Which our prophane houres heere haue throwne down') presumably because strict metre requires a disyllable. Otherwise the change is on the same plane as a dozen or more others which they reject. In v. vi. 47 they accept 'that' for 'what' ('Come mourne with me, for what I do lament'), as no doubt Shakespeare did when he was told it was more elegant! Two notable improvements will complete our tale. In iii. iii. 119 the First Quarto printed: 'This sweares he, as he is princeffe iust.' The new Quarto of 1598 changed 'princeffe' into 'a prince', and the Folio, by inserting 'is', finally restored the line as 'This sweares he, as he is a Prince, is iust'. Again, in i. iv. 53, where the Quarto has the stage direction *Enter Bushie with newes*, the Folio, after the direction *Enter Bushy*, makes the King continue his speech with the words 'Bushy, what newes?' I feel bound to acknowledge both these improvements as probably originating elsewhere than in Jaggard's printing-house.

If we now consider the new readings in the First Folio as a whole, both those which the Cambridge editors

accept and those which they reject, as a result of this tedious survey we can divide them into classes, (i) obvious misprints ; (ii) readings which imply no judgement on what Shakespeare wrote, but are only concerned with the (elided or unelided) presentation of it ; (iii) corrections of patent errors in earlier editions ; (iv) a number of small changes which seldom affect the general sense of the passage in which they occur ; (v) a very few important readings, mostly clearly right, but which, whether right or wrong, we cannot assume to have been arrived at by the editor of the First Folio pondering on the text. Do the readings in these last two classes justify us in considering the text of the First Folio as representing a revision in any sense authoritative of the text printed in the First Quarto, and if so what is the authority on which that revision was based ?

We have so far concerned ourselves almost exclusively with the positive evidence bearing on the question. But there is an at least equally large body of negative evidence which must not be neglected. The principle of Economy forbids us to call in any authority vastly in excess of what can be shown to have been used. We must remember, of course, that the standard of accuracy and care in editing was very low. We must expect many things to have been overlooked which a modern editor would be severely blamed for overlooking ; but if at a moment when the Folio editor was obviously exercising care he can be shown not to have consulted an authority which would have solved his difficulty we must be permitted to doubt whether the authority was there for him to consult.

The Folio text of *Richard II* being set up from a copy of the Quarto of 1615, the fact already recorded that in over 120 instances it restores readings of the First Quarto

which had been perverted in 58 cases by errors introduced by B, in 15 by W, in 16 by C, and in 34 by D, proves that either a copy of the First Quarto (or of some other text with the same readings in these passages) must have been available for use in Jaggard's printing-house, where the Folio was set up, or else that the copy used of D must already have been corrected to this extent before it reached the printer. The negative evidence against a copy of the First Quarto having been thus available in Jaggard's house is strong. We have first the fact that while some 120 of its readings were restored, about 100 others were left in the state to which the subsequent Quartos had reduced them; and, secondly, we have a little handful of instances (i. i. 77; ii. ii. 3; v. iii. 63) where we find the Folio editor wrestling with the bad readings he found in D and botching them as best he could, in a way which forbids us to suppose that he had a copy of the First Quarto at his elbow all the time. i. i. 77 reads in the First Quarto 'What I haue spoke, or thou canst worfe deuise'. B spoilt it by omitting 'worfe'; W mended it by repeating 'what' before 'thou', and the Folio editor varied the botching by omitting this second 'what' and changing 'spoke' to 'spoken'. In ii. ii. 3, where the First and Second Quartos have the phrase 'life-harming heauines' the Folio reads 'selfe-harming', and this seems to have originated in a gallant attempt to improve on the absurd 'halfe-harming' of the three later Quartos. So again, in v. iii. 63, where the First and Second Quartos read 'held his current' and the Folio 'had his current', this very poor variant is clearly due to puzzlement caused by the three later Quartos spelling 'held' as 'hald'. It is difficult to believe that these readings would have found their way into the Folio if its editor had had the First Quarto before him.

If we try to get out of this difficulty by supposing that the superior text used in correcting D was not the First Quarto, but one in which the text, though better than D's, was already corrupted, we shall find that, except on the impossible supposition of a large number of bad readings having originated twice over independently, there is no moment at which such a text could have come into existence, having regard to the variety of bad readings originated by each of the later quartos which it would contain. We have also a slight piece of positive evidence that the text used in correcting D was that of the First Quarto, because along with the 120 good readings at least one of its bad readings was restored, the double genitive 'my brothers Edwards sonne' in 11. i. 124.

We have thus to suppose a copy of D, the Quarto of 1615, brought into Jaggard's printing-house already corrected, though by no means adequately, from a copy of the First Quarto. But we have found reason to admit that the text of his copy of the First Quarto must itself have been already corrected in a handful of places from some other authority, and we are now back at our question: What can this authority have been?

Two further points of difference between the Quartos and the Folio of 1623 here come to our aid, both of them suggesting that the copy of the First Quarto used in correcting D was a playhouse copy which the Prompter had kept up to date in accordance with the changing practice of the theatre. The first of these, the drastic changes in the stage-directions, needs no labouring. The second, the omission from the First Folio of fifty lines taken from eight different places, which are duly printed in the Quartos, must be briefly examined. Mr. Daniel apparently regarded these omissions solely in the light of

a defect in the Folio¹ atoned for by its superior version of the 'Deposition' scene. But if we examine these *en masse* we cannot attribute them (save perhaps in the case of two single lines) to mere carelessness. Some of them are ordinary 'cuts' made to prevent a scene or a speech from dragging; others surmount textual difficulties by the rough and ready method of excision. Their roughness forbids us to believe that they are editorial; they are, in fact, plainly theatrical. I here quote the omitted lines with their contexts, enclosing the actual omissions in brackets :

1. iii. 129-33.

And for our eies do hate the dire aspect
 Of ciuill wounds plowd vp with neighbours sword,
 [And for we thinke the Ægle-winged pride
 Of skie-aspiring and ambitious thoughts,
 With riual-hating enuy set on you
 To wake our peace, which in our Countries cradle
 Drawes the sweet infant breath of gentle sleepe]
 Which so rouzde vp with boistrous vntunde drummes,
 With harsh resounding trumpets dreadfull bray,
 And grating flocke of wrathfull yron armes,
 Might from our quiet confines fright faire Peace,
 And make vs wade euen in our kinreds blood :
 Therefore we banish you, &c.

This is surely a passage which Shakespeare can never have read over, or he would not have left the 'Peace' of line 137 to be frightened by the 'peace' of line 132. The omission of the five lines 129-33 leaves the sword which is to plow up civil wounds to be roused up by drums in rather an awkward manner, and it might have been better to sacrifice the following five lines as well. The

¹ His words are (Introduction, p. xviii) 'as a set off against its [the Folio's] fifty lines omissions we have its admittedly best version of the hundred and sixty-six lines of the "additions" which Q^{os} 1 and 2 omit.'

obvious difficulty is surmounted, though in so clumsy a manner as to make it incredible that the omission was either made or approved by Shakespeare himself.

1. iii. 239-42.

You vrgde me as a iudge, but I had rather,
 You would haue bid me argue like a ffather :
 [Oh had't beene a ffranger, not my child,
 To smoothe his fault I should haue beene more milde :
 A partial flaunder fought I to auoide,
 And in the sentence my owne life destroyed :]
 Alas, I lookt when some of you should say,
 I was too strict to make mine owne away :
 But you gaue leaue to my vnwilling tongue,
 Against my will to do my selfe this wrong.

Can any one seriously contend that the passage does not gain dramatically by the omission of the bracketed lines, which add to its length much more than to its effect ?

1. iii. 268-93.

Gaun. The fullen passage of thy weary steps,
 Esteeme as foyle wherein thou art to set,
 The pretious Iewell of thy home returne.
 [*Bul.* Nay rather euery tedious stride I make,
 Will but remember me what a deale of world :
 I wander from the Iewels that I loue.
 Must I not serue a long apprentifhood,
 To forreine passages, and in the end,
 Hauing my freedome, boast of nothing else,
 But that I was a iourneyman to grieffe.
Gaun. All places that the eie of heauen visits
 Are to a wise man portes and happie hauens :
 Teach thy necessity to reason thus,
 There is no vertue like necessity,
 Thinke not the King did banish thee,
 But thou the King. Woe doth the heauier fit,
 Where it perceiues it is but faintly borne :
 Go, say I sent thee foorth to purchase honour,
 And not the King exile thee ; or suppose,

Deuouring pestilence hangs in our aire,
 And thou art flying to a fresher clime :
 Looke what thy foule holds deare, imagine it
 To ly that way thou goest, not whence thou comst :
 Suppose the finging birds musitions,
 The grasse whereon thou treadst, the presence strowd,
 The flowers, faire Ladies, and thy steps, no more
 Then a delightfull meafure or a dance,
 For gnarling sorrow hath lesse power to bite,
 The man that mocks at it, and sets it light.]
Bul. Oh who can hold a fier in his hand,
 By thinking on the frosty Caucasus, &c.

Had these twenty-six lines perished we should have been the poorer, as they are very good rhetoric ; but twenty-six lines of good rhetoric at the end of a very long scene may be much less good as drama, and whoever made the cut had a sound dramatic instinct. That the editor of the Folio should have made it on his own motion is in the highest degree unlikely.

II. ii. 77.

Greene. Here comes the Duke of Yorke.
Queene. With signes of war about his aged necke,
 Oh ful of carefull busines are his looks !
 Vncle, for Gods fake speake comfortable wordes.
Yorke. [Should I do so I should bely my thoughts,]
 Comfort's in heauen, and we are on the earth, &c.

The omission of the intervening line brings 'comfort's in heauen' in more pointed antithesis to 'comfortable words'.

III. ii. 29-32.

Carl. Feare not my Lord, that power that made you king,
 Hath power to keepe you king in spight of all,
 [The meanes that heauens yeeld must be imbrac't
 And not neglected. Else heauen would,
 And we will not, heauens offer, we refuse,
 The profered meanes of succors and redresse.]

Aum. He meanes my Lo: that we are too remisse,
 Whilst Bullingbrooke through our security,
 Growes strong and great in subſtance and in power.

This is an unfortunate omiſſion, as by the removal of the four lines Aumerle is left without any foundation for the meaning which he attributes to the Biſhop's ſpeech. But until Pope inserted 'if' between 'Elſe' and 'heauen' the meaning was very obſcure, and the lines ſeem to have been impatiently ſtruck out becauſe of this. If this was done by the actor it ſuggeſts that the omiſſion of 'if' (or ſuch other word as would have mended the ſenſe) may have been a ſlip in Shakeſpeare's own draft, otherwiſe the line ſhould have been mendable from the actor's 'part'.

III. ii. 49.

So when this thiefe, this traitor Bullingbrooke,
 Who all this while hath reuel'd in the night,
 [Whilst we were wandring with the Antipodes,]
 Shall ſee vs riſing in our throne the eaſt.

Poſſibly the reference to the King's abſence in Ireland as a wandering in the Antipodes was found miſleading; poſſibly the omiſſion, being only of a ſingle line, was accidental.

Fitzwaters and Percy have thrown down their gages in challenge to Aumerle :

IV. i. 52-9.

[*Another L.* I taſke the earth to the like (forſworne Aumerle)
 And ſpurre thee on with full as many lies
 As it may be hollowed in thy treacherous eare
 From finne to finne: there is my honors pawne
 Ingage it to the triall if thou dareſt.

Aum. Who ſets me elſe? by heauen Ile throwe at all,
 I haue a thouſand ſpirites in one breaſt
 To anſwer twenty thouſand ſuch as you.]

Sur. My lord Fitzwater, I do remember well
 The very time (Aumerle) and you did talke, &c.

The phrase 'I taske the earth to the like' has provoked a shower of emendations; but probably the only reason for this omission was that the scene is a long one and it was thought that three challenges were enough—as indeed they are.

v. iii. 97.

Aum. Vnto my mothers prayers I bend my knee.

Yorke. Against them both my true ioynts bended be,

[Ill maist thou thrive if thou graunt any grace.]

Du. Pleades he in earnest? looke vpon his face.

His eies do drop no teares, &c.

This line, like 111. ii. 49, may well have been omitted by accident,¹ but the other six omissions, amounting to forty-eight lines, are all in accordance with dramatic exigencies, and along with the remodelling of the stage directions offer excellent evidence that the copy of the First Quarto by which that of 1615 was corrected was a playhouse copy from which the Prompter had scored out the lines omitted from the acting version, and inserted stage directions in accordance, probably, with the resources of the Company when the play was revived in 1608. Is it unreasonable to suppose that while doing this the Prompter did also a little more and brought the text of his copy of the First Quarto here and there into agreement with the lines as spoken by the actors, who would have been confused if they had been prompted with any other word than that which they were accustomed to use, whether this was wrong or right? In a few cases, as we have seen, the word or words substituted for the reading of the Quarto were certainly right and seem

¹ With these two probably accidental omissions from the Folio we may mention that of the two words 'My Lo.', i. e. 'My Lord,' which in modern editions form line 1v. i. 326, though the First Quarto runs them into the next line. This omission, however, originated in W.

to need some super-editorial authority for their restitution, and this seems amply provided by our supposition. In a far larger number of lines,¹ on the other hand, the substitution of one word for another of nearly equivalent meaning suggests imperfect memory or perhaps the actor's taste.

We are now, perhaps, in a position to set down the hypothesis, as to what happened from the moment when Shakespeare handed over his copy to the Players, which seems to raise the fewest difficulties and to obey most consistently the law of economy.

When a new play was accepted by a company of players it is evident that copies must have been made of the different parts, so that each actor could learn his own and know enough of those of the other actors to bring in his speeches at the right time.

A clean copy may have been made at the same time for the use of the Prompter, or (as appears to have been the case with the anonymous *Second Mayden's Tragedy* of 1611, and Massinger's *Believe as you list* of 1631) the author's own manuscript may have been taken for this purpose. To copy a play of this length would have occupied a scrivener some three or four days, and although the cost would not have been great, probably about five shillings, it is by no means certain that the Company incurred it, as with a single complete text and the actors' 'parts' they would be fairly secured against accident. Even if this cost were incurred, it seems probable, when we transport ourselves back to 1597 and forget the price which a single scene of a play in Shakespeare's autograph would be likely to fetch at the present time, that the clean copy made by

¹ Some deduction, however, must be made to allow for the probability that some of these substitutions were made by the compositor from trying to carry too many words in his head.

the scrivener would have been considered better worth keeping than the author's draft, and that thus, whether there was one complete copy or two, it was probably the one in Shakespeare's handwriting which (with the 'Deposition scene' cut out) reached the printer. Save the shock it may cause to our feelings to contemplate such an outrage, there is nothing, as far as I can see, that makes this improbable. It has been rather elaborately demonstrated that the number of errors which Valentine Sims introduced into the Second Quarto is so great that even if he had had an absolutely perfect manuscript to print from there is no reason to suppose that the First Quarto would have been any less incorrect than it is. On the other hand the fact that more than once we find a suggestion that Sims was obliged to help a compositor by dictating the text to him (see pp. 35 sq., 59) suggests that the manuscript was probably not written in a specially clerkly hand. Finally, we really want to get rid of Shakespeare's autograph at the earliest possible moment, because if it remained in existence for any length of time so many people must be seriously blamed for not having made better use of it. There is indeed no subsequent occasion on which it can be brought into play, without a moral impossibility arising that it should only have been used to tinker one or two passages when there was a mistake on every page waiting to be corrected.

To these considerations there is one which is worth mentioning, though I put it forward with some diffidence, namely, that the very unequal and inconsistent punctuation which we find in the First Quarto is much more likely to have taken its origin from that of the author himself than from any which we can suppose a professional copyist to have been guilty of. The impression which a very close study of the play has made on me

(I mention it for what it is worth) is that Shakespeare wrote it at top speed, the words often coming to him as fast as he could set them down, and that some passages he could hardly have troubled himself to read over.¹ Such a flow of ideas and words is not favourable to careful punctuation, and I believe that, in the manuscript which he handed over to the players, all but the most carefully written speeches were hardly punctuated at all. On the other hand, as we have seen (see p. 69), some at least of these set speeches are fully punctuated, and with a dramatic punctuation such as cannot reasonably be attributed to any one but the author. A professional copyist might have reproduced faithfully all the punctuation he found and added none of his own, but it is simpler to divide the responsibility for that found in the First Quarto between Shakespeare and the printer, without dragging in a third party. I am conscious, however, that to argue from anything so defaced with errors as the Quarto's punctuation is not without risk.

As soon as the First Quarto was printed its greater handiness and legibility would give it great advantage over any written text for the purposes of a prompt-copy, and if any written text then existed at the theatre there is every probability that it was destroyed. Some ten years later, when the play was revived and the 'Deposition' scene restored to the acting version, presumably by Shakespeare's wish, the text of this could have been obtained, if no copy of it had been specially preserved, from the original actors' 'parts'.² With this addition

¹ The worst instance of this is the confusing double reference to Peace in i. iii. 132 and 137, which seems to have led to five lines being cut out in despair of mending it.

² This supposes that the 'Deposition' scene was acted when the play was first staged, and cut out in or before 1597.

the First Quarto may have continued in use as a prompt-copy right down to the time when the printing of the First Folio was undertaken. While being used as a prompt-copy, passages which for any reason were omitted in representation would naturally be scored out; hence the omission from the Folio text of forty-eight lines (besides two single lines which appear to have dropped out accidentally) duly printed by the First Quarto. While being used in this way it would furthermore be natural that the copy of the First Quarto should here and there be brought into agreement with any variation from its text which an actor systematically introduced; hence the few certain corrections of the First Quarto which appear in the Folio text, and the larger number of instances in which one word is substituted for another of nearly equivalent meaning.

Whether because a Folio would be inconveniently large to use as a prompt-copy, or for any other reason, it is probable, as we have seen, that the corrected First Quarto was not sent to the printer, but only placed at the disposal of whoever was intrusted with the task of preparing the historical section of the First Folio for the press. Possibly he even had to go to the theatre to consult it. In any case it is certain that the process of correcting a copy of the Quarto of 1615 by the aid of the corrected First Quarto was very hastily and inadequately performed, and that this imperfectly corrected Quarto of 1615 was the sole authority by which Jaggard's press-corrector had to work, so that if he found anything in it which he thought wrong he had to botch as best he could. Moreover, although now and again we find him obviously taking pains in this way, we cannot regard him as very good at his proper job, as he passed a discreditable number of new mistakes introduced by his own compositors. For

these reasons we have no doubt that the text which an editor of *Richard II* ought to follow is not that of the First Folio, but that of the Quarto of 1597.

As regards how the text of the Quarto of 1597 should be modified when reproduced in a modern edition we have already given reasons for our contention that no variant should be accepted from any of the later Quartos, unless by a quite rigorous standard its correctness can be called self-evident. On the whole it is safest to apply the same test to the variants first found in the Folio of 1623, despite the possibility suggested in this introduction that any given variant may be a restoration of an original reading preserved in an actor's 'part' and transferred thence to the prompt-copy and so to the copy of the Quarto of 1615 in which corrections were made, and from this to the new text. In lines where both the Quarto and the Folio have possible readings it is simpler to believe that the reading of the Folio is due to a single substitution of a wrong for a right word, than that this substitution took place in 1597 and was corrected in the roundabout way indicated. In other words it seems safer to use the theory of a corrected prompt-copy rather as a means of explaining how the new readings which we are bound in any case to accept found their way into the First Folio than as a reason for accepting more variants from this source.

The theory here maintained as to the relations of the Quarto and the Folio texts of *Richard II* has points in common both with that of the Cambridge editors and with the view expressed by Mr. P. A. Daniel in his introduction to the Facsimile of the Devonshire copy of the Quarto of 1597. At the same time it differs substantially from both.

It agrees with the Cambridge editors in taking the text of the First Quarto as reproducing most accurately the

words Shakespeare wrote, and only regrets that they should have fallen below their own creed by borrowing six or seven unauthoritative readings from the Second Quarto and a few more from the Folio. It differs from the Cambridge editors, not only as to these readings, but also in regarding the First Quarto, not that of 1615, as the one taken by the Players as a prompt-copy, the Quarto of 1615 being hastily corrected by this.

It agrees with Mr. Daniel in his criticism of the Cambridge editors on this point, but differs strongly from his preference for the Folio text, and still more from the reasons on which that preference is based. These (see the quotations from his introduction on p. 82) seem to be trebly wrong (i) in the undue importance, as 'instances of revision', attached to the correction in the Folio of two historical errors which any man, woman or child with the necessary information could have set right; (ii) in his refusal to admit any difference between these historical emendations and others in regard to which the decision, 'right' or 'wrong', is entirely a matter of Shakespeare's art; and (iii) in the rather wilful indifference as to the text Shakespeare first handed to the players, on the ground of our supposed possession of a later text rendered superior by its inclusion of variants which Shakespeare is credited with having introduced, or at least approved. Happy in his belief that the Folio text was thus authoritatively revised, Mr. Daniel apparently did not think it worth while to make any definite pronouncement or even to give much consideration as to whether the text Shakespeare originally handed to the players is or is not that of the First Quarto; or rather, at the moment when he should have considered this point he allowed himself to be hypnotized by the words 'stolne and surreptitious', which have been the undoing of so many Shakespeare editors.

In the theory here put forward the two historical corrections are disregarded as of no evidential value, but in view of the presence in the First Folio of three or four literary corrections which seem to demand a skill greater than can fairly be attributed to its editors the suggestion is offered that these may have been found already made in the copy of the First Quarto used as a prompt-copy. While it is thus admitted that the Folio may at haphazard contain some good readings, it seems impossible to accept its text as in any way edited or revised by Shakespeare himself, or under his supervision or authority, because, while it presents many of the characteristics of an edited text, the editing seems to represent the views and practice of the printing-house, possibly of the theatre, in 1623, rather than of Shakespeare himself. Such cuts as we find in i. iii. 129-33 and iii. ii. 29-32 (see pp. 91 and 93) could not have been made by the author. Moreover, as compared with the First Quarto, there is a greatly increased heaviness in the punctuation and a multiplication of emphasis capitals which we can hardly attribute to the writer of Hamlet's advice to the players, 'Speak the speech I pray you as I pronounc'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it as many of our Players do, I had as lieve the towne cryer spoke my lines.' The First Folio, as already admitted, has a style of its own and a right to that style with which it is no part of my present business to quarrel. But that the text of the First Quarto more accurately represents what Shakespeare originally wrote, may even indeed have been set up from his autograph manuscript, and that the play itself never subsequently received any revision whatever from Shakespeare himself, seem to me among the most certain of propositions.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

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* Up to this point the Quarto of 1608 follows W page for page, but in view of the 'Additions' which necessitated adding an extra sheet in any case, it here abandons the extreme compression practised by W.

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THE Tragedie of King Ri- chard, the second.

As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Ho-
nourable the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants.

By William Shake-speare.



L O N D O N

Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise, and
are to be solde at his shop in Paules churchyard, at
the signe of the Angel.

1 5 9 8.



Enter King Richard, Iohn of Gant,
with other Nobles and
Attendants.

King Richard.



O lde Iohn of Gaunt time honored Lancaster,
Hast thou according to thy othe and bande
Brought hither Henry Herford thy bold son,
Here to make good the boistrous late appeale
Which then our leisure would not let vs heare
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

Gaunt. I haue my Leige.

King. Tell me moreouer, hast thou sounded him
If he appeale the Duke on ancient malice,
Or worthily as a good subiect should
On some knowne ground of treacherie in him?

Gaunt. As neare as I could sift him on that argument,
On some apparant danger scene in him,
Aimde at your Highnesse, no inuete. ate malice.

King. Then call them to our presence face to face,
And frowning brow to brow our selues will heare,
The accuser and the accused freely speake:
His stomacke are they both, and full of ire,
In rage, deafe as the sea, hastie as fire.

Enter Bullingbrooke and Mowbray.

Bulling. Many yeares of happy daies befall
My gracious Soueraigne, my most louing Liege;

The Tragedie of

Momb. Each day still better others happinesse,
Vntill the heaucns enuying earths good happe,
Adde in immortall title to your Crowne.

King. We thanke you both, yet one but flatters vs,
As well appeareth by the cause you come,
Namely to appeale each other of high treason:
Coosin of Hereford what dost thou obiekt
Against the Duke of Norfolke Thomas Mowbray.

Bul. First, heauen be the record to my speech,
In the deuotion of a subiects loue,
Tendering the precious safetie of my Prince,
And free from other misbegotten hate,
Come I appellat to this princely presence.
Now Thomas Mowbray do I turne to thee,
And marke my greeting well: for what I speake
My body shall make good vpon this earth,
Or my diuine soule answer it in heauen:
Thou art a traitour and a miscreant;
Too good to be so, and too bad to liue,
Since the more faire and cristall is the skie,
The vglie seeme the cloudes that in it flie.
Once more, the more to aggrauate the note,
With a foule traitours name stuffe I thy throat,
And with (so please my Soueraigne,) ere I moue,
What my tong speakes, my right drawne sword may proue.

Mow. Let not my colde words here accuse my zeale,
Tis not the trial of a womans war,
The bitter clamour of two eager tongues,
Can arbitrate this cause betwixt vs twaine:
The bloud is hott that must be coold for this,
Yet can I not of such tame patience boast,
As to be husht and naught at all to say.
First the faire reuerence of your highnesse curbes me,
From giuing reines and spurs to my free speech,
Which else would post vntill it had returnd,
These tearmes of treason doubled downe his throat:
Setting aside his high blouds royaltie,
And let him be no kinsman to my Leige,

I do defie him, and spit at him,
Call him a slaunderous coward and a villaine:
Which to maintaine, I would allow him ods,
And meete him, were I tide to runne a foote,
Euen to the frozen ridges of the Alpes,
Or any other ground inhabitable,
Where euer English man durst set his foote.
Meane time let this defend my loyaltie,
By all my hopes most falsly doth he lie.

Bnl. Pale trembling coward, there I throw my gage,
Disclaiming heere the kinred of a King,
And lay aside my high blouds royaltie,
Which feare, not reuerence makes thee to except.
If guiltie dread haue left thee so much strength,
As to take vp mine honours pawne, then stowpe:
By that, and all the rites of Knighthood else,
Will I make good against thee arme to arme,
What I haue spoke, or what thou canst deuise.

Mow. I take it vp, and by that sword I sweare,
Which gently laide my Knighthood on my shoulder,
Ile answer thee in any faire degree:
Or chiuallrous designe of knightly triall,
And when I mount, aliuie may I not light,
If I be traitour or vniustly fight.

King. What doth our Cousin lay to Mowbraies charge.
It must be great that can inherite vs,
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

Bnl. Looke what I said, my life shall prooue it true,
That Mowbray hath receiued eight thousand nobles,
In name of lendings for your highnesse souldiours,
The which he hath detainde for lewd employments,
Like a false traitour and iniurious villaine.
Besides I say, and will in battaile prooue,
Or here, or else where to the furthest Verge
That euer was surueyed by English eie,
That all the treasons for these eighteene yeares,
Complotted and contriued in this land:
Fetcht from false Mowbray their first head and spring:

The Tragedie of

Further I say, and further will maintaine
Vpon his bad life to make all this good,
That he did plotte the Duke of Glocesters death,
Suggest his soone beleeking aduersaries,
And consequently like a traitour coward,
Slute out his innocent soule through streames of blood,
Which blood, like sacrificing Abels cries,
Euen from the tongue of the Cauerns of the earth,
To me for iustice and rough chastisement:
And by the glorious worth of my discent,
This arme shall do it, or this life be spent.

King. How high a pitch his resolution soares,
Thomas of Norfolke what saist thou to this?

Mowb. Oh let my soueraigne turne away his face,
And bid his eares a little while be deafe,
Till I haue tolde this slaunder of his blood,
How God and good men hate so foule a her.

King. Mowbray impartiall are our eies and eares,
Were he my brother, nay, my kingdomes heire,
As he is but my fathers brothers sonne,
Now by scepters awe I make a vow,
Such neighbour neerenes to our sacred blood
Should nothing priuiledge him, nor partialize
The vnstooping firmenesse of my vpright soule,
He is our subiect Mowbray, so art thou,
Free speech and fearelesse I to thee allow.

Mowb. Then Bullingbrooke as low as to thy heart,
Through the false passage of thy throat thou liest,
Three parts of that receipt I had for Callice,
Disburst I to his highnesse Souldiours,
The other part reserue I by consent,
For that my soueraigne liege was in my debt,
Vpon remainder of a deare account,
Since last I went to France to fetch his Queene:
Now swallow downe that lie. For Glocesters death.
I slew him not, but to mine owne disgrace
Neglected my sworne dutie in that case:
For you my noble Lord of Lancaster,

The

King Richard the second.

The honourable father to my foe,
Once did I lay an ambush for your life,
A trespass that doth vex my greued soules
Ah but ere I last receiue the sacrament,
I did confesse it, and exactly begd
Your graces pardon, and I hope I had it.
This is my fault, as for the rest appeald
It issues from the rancour of a villaine,
A recreant and most degenerate traitour,
Which in my selfe I boldly will defend,
And enterchangeably hurle downe the gage,
Vpon this ouerweening traitours foote,
To prooue my selfe a loyall Gentleman,
Euen in the best blood chamberd in his bosome,
In haste whereof most hartly I pray
Your highnesse to assigne our triall day.

King. Wrath kindled gentleman, be ruled by me,
Lets purge this choler without letting blood.
This we prescribe, though no Phisition,
Deepe malice makes too deepe incision,
Forget, forgiue, conclude, and be agreed,
Our Doctors say, this is no month to bleed:
Good Vnckle, let this end where it begunne,
Weele calme the Duke of Norfolke, you your sonnes.

Gaunt. To be a make-peace shall become my age,
Throw downe (my sonne) the Duke of Norfolkes gage.

King. And Norfolke throw downe his.

Gaunt. When Harry, when? obedience bids,
Obedience bids I should not bid againe.

King. Norfolke throw downe we bid, there is no boote.

Mow. My selfe I throw (dread soueraigne) at thy foote,
My life thou shalt commaund, but not my shame,
The one my dutie owes, but my faire name
Despight of death that liues vpon my graue,
To dark honours vse thou shalt not haue:
I am disgrasse, impeacht, and baffuld heere,
Pierst to the soule with Slaunders venomd speare,
The which no balme can cure, but his heart blood

Which

The Tragedie of

Which breathde this poyson.

King. Rage must be withstood,
Giue me his gage, Lions make Leopards tame.

Mowb. Yea, but not change his spots, take but my shame,
And I resigne my gage my deare deare Lord.
The purest treasure mortall times affoord,
Is spotlesse reputation, that away,
Men are but guilded loame, or painted clay:
A jewell in a tenne times bard vp chest,
Is a bolde spirit in a loyall breast.
Mine honour is my life, both grow in one,
Take honour from me, and my life is done.
Then (deare my Liege) mine honour let me try.
In that I liue, and for that will I dy.

King. Cousin throw vp your gage, do you beginne.

Bul. O God defend my soule from such deepe sinne,
Shall I seeine Crest-fallen in my fathers sight?
Or with pale begger-face impeach my hight,
Before this out-darde dastard? Ere my tongue
Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,
Or sound so base a parlee, my teeth shall teare,
The flauish motiue of recanting feare,
And spit it bleeding in his high disgrace,
Where shame doth harbour, euen in Mowbraies face,

King. We were not borne to sue, but to commaund,
Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
Be readie as your life shall answer it,
At Couentry vpon Saint Lambards day:
There shall your swords and launces arbitrate
The swelling difference of your setled hate,
Since we cannot atone you, you shall see
Iustice designe the Victors chiuallrie.
Lord Marshall, commaund our Officers at Armes,
Be readie to direct these home allarmes.

Exit

Enter Iohn of Gaunt, with the Duchesse of Gloucester.

Gaunt. Alas the part I had in Woodstocks bloud,
Doth more sollicit me then your exclames,

King Richard the second.

To stirre against the butchers of his life.
But since correction lieth in those hands,
Which made the fault that we cannot correct,
Put we our quarrell to the will of heauen,
Who when they see the houres ripe on earth,
Will raine hot vengeance on offenders heads.

Duchesse Findes brotherhood in thee no sharper spurre?
Hath loue in thy olde blood no liuing fire?
Edwards seu: n sonnes, whiercof thy selfe art one,
Were as seuen viols of his sacred blood,
Or seuen faire branches springing from one roote:
Some of those seuen are dried by natures course,
Some of those branches by the destinies cut:
But *Thomas* my deere Lord, my life my Glocester,
One violl full of Edwards sacred blood,
One flourishing branch of his most royall roote
Is crackt, and all the precious liquor spilt;
Is hackt downe, and his summer leaues all faded
By enuies hand, and murders bloudie axe.
Ah Gaunt, his blood was thine, that bed, that wombe,
That mettall, that selfe mould, that fashioned ree
Made him a man: and though thou liuest and breathest,
Yet art thou slaine in him; thou dost consent
In some large measure to thy fathers death,
In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,
Who was the modell of thy fathers life,
Call it not patience, Gaunt, it is dispaire,
In suffering thus thy brother to be slaughtred,
Thou shewest the naked pathway to thy life,
Teaching sterne Murder how to butcher thee:
That which in meane men we intitle Patience.
Is pale colde Cowardice in noble breasts.
What shall I say: to safegard thy owne life,
The best way is to venge my Glocesters death.
GAUNT Gods is the quarrell, for Gods substitute,
His deputie annointed in his sight;
Hath causd his death, the which if wrongfully,
Let heauen reuenge, for I may neuer lift

The Tragedie of

An angrie arme against his minister.

Duch. Where then alas may I complaine my selfe?

Gaunt. To God the widdowes Champion and defence.

Duch. Why then I will, farewell olde Gaunt,
Thou goest to Couentry, there to beholde
Our Coosin Herford and fell Mowbray fight.
O set my husbands wrongs on Herfords speare,
That it may enter butcher Mowbraies breast.
Or if misfortune misse the first carriere,
Be Mowbraies sinnes so heauie in his bosome,
That they may breake his foming coursers backe,
And throw the rider headlong in the lists,
A caitiue recreant to my Coosin Herford.
Farewell olde Gaunt, thy sometimes brothers wife,
With her companion grieve must end her life.

Gaunt. Sister-farewell, I must to Couentries:
As much good stay with thee, as go with me.

Duch. Yet one word more, grieve boundeth where it falles,
Not with the emptie hollownesse, but weight:
I take my leaue before I haue begunne,
For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done:
Commend me to my brother Edmund Yorke,
Lo this is all: nay yet depart not so,
Though this be all, do not so quickly goe.
I shall remember more: Bid him, ah what?
With all good speede at Plashie visit me.
Alacke and what shall good olde Yorke there see;
But emptie lodgings and vnfurnisht walles,
Vnpeopled offices, vntrodden stones,
And what heare there for welcome but my grones?
Therefore commend me, let him not come there,
To seeke out sorrow that dwels euerie where,
Desolate, desolate will I hence and die:
The last leaue of thee takes my weeping eye.

Exeunt.

Enter the Lord Marshall and the Duke Aumerle.

Mar. My Lord Aumerle, is Harry Herford armed?

Aum. Yea at all pointes, and longs to enter in.

Mar.

King Richard the second.

Mar. The Duke of Norfolk sprightly and bold,
Staies but the summons of the appellants trumpet.

Aum. Why then the Champions are prepar'd, and stay
For nothing but his Maieslies approach.

*The trumpets sound, and the King enters with his nobles : when
they are set, enter the Duke of Norfolk in armes descendant.*

King. Marshall demaund of yonder Champion,
The cause of his ariual here in armes,
Aske him his name, and orderly proceede
To sweare him in the iustice of his cause.

Mar. In Gods name and the Kings, say who thou art,
And why thou comest thus knightly clad in armes?
Against what man thou comst, and what's thy quarrell,
Speake truely on thy knighthood, and thy oth,
As so defend thee heauen and thy valour.

Mow. My name is Thomas Mewbray, D. of Norfolk,
Who hither come ingaged by my oath,
(Which God defend a Knight should violate)
Both to defend my loyaltie and truth,
To God, my King, and my succeeding issue,
Against the Duke of Herford that appeales mee,
And by the grace of God, and this mine arme,
To prooue him in defending of my selfe,
A traitour to my God, my King, and me:
And as I truly fight defend me heauen.

*The Trumpets sound, enter Duke of Herford
appellants in armour.*

King. Marshall aske yonder Knight in armes,
Both who he is, and why he cometh hither
Thus plated in habilements of war,
And formally according to our law,
Depose him in the iustie of his cause.

Mar. What is thy name, and wherefore comst thou hither?
Before King Richard in his royall lists?
Against whome comes thou? and whats thy quarrell?
Speake like a true knight, so defend thee heauen.

The Tragedies of

Bul. Harry of Herford, Lancaster, and Daubie
Am I, who readie here do stand in Armes,
"To prooue by Gods grace, and my bodie valour
In lists, on *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolk,
That he is a traitour foule and dangerous,
To God of heauen, King Richard, and to me:
And as I truely fight, defend me heauen.

Mar. On paine of death no person be so bolde
Or daring, hardie, as to touch the lists,
Except the Martiall and such officers
Appointed to direct these faire designs.

Bul. Lord Martiall, let me kisse my Soueraignes hand,
And bow my knee before his Maiestie,
For Mowbray and my selfe are like two men,
That vow a long and wearie pilgrimage.
Then let vs take a ceremonious leaue,
And louing farewell of our seuerall friends.

Mar. The appellant in all dutie greetes your highnesse,
And craues to kisse your hand and take his leaue.

King. We will descend and folde him in our armes.
Coosin of Herford, as thy cause is right,
So be thy fortune in this royall fight:
Farewell my blood, which if to day thou shead,
Lament we may, but not reuenge thee dead.

Bul. O let no noble eie prophane a teare
For me, if I be gorie with Mowbrayes speare:
As confident as is the falcons flight
Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.
My louing Lord I take my leaue of you:
Of you (my noble coosin) Lord Aumarle,
Not sicke although I haue to do with death,
But lustie, yong, and cheerely drawing breath.
Loe, as at English feasts so I regret
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweete.
Oh thou the earthly Author of my blood,
Whose youthfull spirit in me regenerate,
Doth with a two-fold vigour lift me vp,
To reach a victorie about my head,

King Richard the second.

Adde prooffe vnto mine armour with thy prayers,
And with thy blessings Steele my launces point,
That it may enter Mowbrayes waxen coate,
And farbifh new the name of Iohn a Gaunt,
Euen in the lustie hauiour of his sonne.

Gaunt. God in thy good cause make thee prosperous.
Be swift like lightning in the execution,
And let thy blowes doubly redoubled,
Fall like amazing thunder on the caske
Of thy aduerse pernicious enemy,
Rowse vp thy youthfull bloud, be valiant and liue.

Bul. Mine innocence and Saint George to thrue.

Mow. How euer God or fortune cast my lotte,
There lies or dies true to King Richards throne,
A loyall iust and vpright Gentleman:
Neuer did captiue with a freer heart
Cast of his chaines of bondage, and embrace,
His golden vncontroled enfranchisement,
More then my dauncing soule doth celebrate
This feast of battle with mine aduersarie.
Most mightie Liege, and my companion Peeres,
Take from my mouth the wish of happie yeares,
As gentle and as iocund as to iest
Go I to fight, truth hath a quiet brest.

King. Farewell (my Lord) securely I espie,
Vertue with valour couched in thine eie,
Order the triall Martiall, and beginne.

Mart. Harrie of Herforde, Lancaster, and Darby,
Receiue thy launce, and God defend thy right.

Bul. Strong as a tower in hope I cry, Amen.

Mart. Go beare this launce to Thomas D. of Norfolke.

Herald. Harry of Herford, Lancaster, and Darby,
Stands heere, for God, his soueraigne, and himselfe,
On paine to be found false and recreant,
To proue the Duke of Norfolke Thomas Mowbray,
A traitour to his God, his King, and him,
And dares him to set forwards to the fight.

Herald. Here standeth Thomas Mowbray D. of Norfolke,

The Tragedie of

On paine to be found false and recreant,
Both to defend himselfe, and to approve
Henry of Herford, Lancaster, and Darby,
To God, his soueraigne, and to him disloyall,
Courageously, and with a free desire,
Attending but the signall to beginne.

Mart. Sound trumpets, and set forth Combatants:
Stay, the King hath throwne his warder downe.

King. Let them lay by their helmets, and their speares,
And both returne backe to their chaires againe:
Withdraw with vs, and let the trumpets sound,
While we returne these Dukes what we decree.
Draw neere and list

What with our counsell we haue done,
For that our kingdomes earth should not be soild
With that deere blood which it hath fostered:
And for oureies do hate the dire aspect

Of ciuill wounds plowd vp with neighbours sword:
And for we thinke the Eagle-winged pride
Of skie-aspiring and ambitious thoughts
With riual-hating enuy set on you,

To wake our peace, which in our countries cradle
Drawes the sweete infant breath of gentle sleepe,
Which so rouzd vp with boisterous vntunde drummes,
With harsh resounding trumpets dreadfull bray,
And grating shock of wrathfull yron armes,
Might from our quiet confines fright faire Peace,
And make vs wade even in our kinreds blood.

Therefore we banish you our territories:
You Cousin Herford vpon paine of life,
Till twice five summers haue enricht our field
Shall not regreete our faire dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment,

Bul. Your will be done; this must my comfort be,
That Sunne that warms you heere, shall shine on me,
And those his golden beames vnto you heere I see
Shall point on me, and guild my banishment.

King. Norfolke, for thee remains a heavier doome,

Which

King Richard the second.

Which I with some vnwillignes pronounce,
The slow houres shall not determinate
The datelesse limite of thy decree exile:
The hopelesse word of neuer to returne,
Breathe I against thee, vpon paine of life.

Mow. A heauie sentence, my most soueraigne Liege,
And all vnlookt for from your Highnes mouth.
A deerer merit, not so deepe a maime;
As to be cast forth in the common ayre,
Haue I deserued at your Highnesse hands:
The language I haue learnd these fortie yeares,
My natie English now I must forgo,
And now my tongues vse is to me no more
Than an vnstringed violl or a harpe,
Or like a cunning instrument casde vp,
Or being open, put into his hands
That knowes no touch to tune the harmony.
Within my mouth you haue ingayld my tongue,
Doubly portcullist with my teeth and lippes,
And dull vnfeeling barren ignorance
Is made my iayler to attend on me:
I am too olde to fawne vpon a nurse,
Too farre in yeeres to be a pupill now.
What is thy sentence but speechlesse death,
Which robbes my tongue from breathing natie breath?

King. It bootes thee not to be compassionate,
After our sentence playning comes too late,

Mow. Then thus I turne me from my countries light,
To dwell in solemne shades of endlesse night.

King. Returne againe and take an oth with thee,
Lay on our royall sword your banisht hands.
Swear by the dutie that y'owe to God
(Our part therein we banish with your selues.)
To keepe the oath that we administer:
You neuer shall, so helpe you truth and God.
Embrace each others loue in banishment,
Nor neuer looke vpon each others face,
Nor neuer write, regreete, nor reconcile.

This

The Tragedie of

This louing tempest of your home-bred hate,
Nor neuer by aduised purpose meere,
To plotte, contriue, or complot any ill,
Gainst vs, our state, our subiects, or our land.

Bul. I sweare.

Mow. and I, to keepe all this.

Bul. Norfolke, so fare as to mine enemye,
By this time, had the King permitted vs,
One of our soules had wandred in the ayre,
Banisht this fraile sepulchre of our flesh,
As now our flesh is banisht from this land.
Confesse thy treasons ere thou fly the realme,
Since thou hast far to go, beare not along
The cloging burthen of a guiltie soule.

Mow. No Bullinbrooke, if euer I were traitour,
My name be blotted from the booke of life,
And I from heauen banisht as from hence:
But what thou art, God, thou, and I, do know,
And all too soone (I feare) the King shall rewe:
Farewell (my Leige) now no way can I stray,
Save back to England all the world's my way.

King. Vncle, euen in the glasses of thine eyes,
I see thy griued heart: thy sad aspect
Hath from the number of his banisht yeeres
Pluckt foure away, six frozen winters spent,
Returne with welcome home from banishment.

Bull. How long a time lies in one little word?
Foure lagging winters, and foure wanton springs,
End in a word, such is the breath of Kings.

Caunt. I thanke my Liege, that in regard of me,
He shortens foure yeares of my sonnes exile,
But little vantage shall I reape thereby:
For ere the six yeares that he hath to spend
Can change their moones, and bring their times about,
My oile-dried lampe, and time bewasted light
shall be extinct with age and endlesse nights:
My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
And blindfolde Death not let me see my sonne.

King.

King Richard the second.

King. Why Vnckle, thou hast many yeeres to liue.

Gauunt. But not a minute (*King*) that thou canst giue.
Shorten my daies thou canst with sullen sorrow,
And plucke nights from me, but not lend a morrow.
Thou canst helpe time to furtrow me with age,
But stoppe no wrinkle in his pilgrimage:
Thy word is currant with him, for my death,
But dead, thy kingdome cannot buy my breath.

King. Thy sonne is banisht with good aduise,
Whereto thy tongue, a party, verdict gaue,
Why at our iustice seemst thou then to lowre?

Gauunt. Things sweete to taste, proue in digestion sowre.
You vrge me as a iudge, but I had rather,
You would haue bid me argue like a father.
Oh had't beene a stranger, not my child,
To smooth his fault I would haue beene more milde:
A partiall slander sought I to aroyde,
And in the sentence my owne life destroyde.
Alas, I lookt when some of you should say,
I was too strict to make mine owne away:
But you gaue leaue to my vnwilling tongue,
Against my will to do my selfe this wrong.

King. Coosin farewell, and Vnckel bid him so,
Sixe yeeres we banish him and he shall go.

An. Coosin farewell, what presence must not know,
From where you do remaine, let paper show.

Mar. My Lord, no leaue take I, for I will ride,
As far as land will let me by your side.

Gauunt. Oh to what purpose doest thou hoard thy words,
That thou returnest no greeting to thy friends?

Bul. I haue too few to take my leaue of you,
When the tongues office should be prodigall,
To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.

Gauunt. Thy griefe is but thy absence for a time.

Bul. Ioy absent, griefe is present for that time.

Gauunt. What is sixe winters? they are quickly gone.

Bul. To men in ioy, but griefe makes one houre ten.

Gauunt. Call it a trauaile that thou takst for pleasure.

The Tragedie of

Bul. My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,
Which findes it an inforced pilgrimage.

Gaunt. The fullen passage of thy wearie steps,
Esteerne a soyle wherein thou art to set,
The precious jewell of thy home returne.

Bul. Nay rather euerie tedious stride I make,
Will but remember me what a deale of world
I wander from the jewels that I loue.

Must I not serue a long apprenticeshood
To forren passages, and in the end,
Hauing my freedome, boast of nothing else,
But that I was a journeyman to grieve?

Gaunt. All places that the eie of heauen visits,
Are to a wise man ports and happy hauens.
Teach thy necessitie to reason thus,
There is no vertue like necessitie:
Thinke not the King did banish thee,
But thou the King, Woe doth the heauier sit,
Where it perceiues it is but faintly borne:
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour,
And not the King exilde thee; or suppose
Deuouring pestilence hangs in our aire,
And thou art flying to a fresher clime:
Looke what thy soule holds decree, imagine it
To ly that way thou goest, not whence thou comst.
Suppose the singing birds musitions,
The grasse whereon thou treadst, the presence strowde,
The flowres, faire Ladies, and thy steps, no more
Then a delightfull measure or a dance,
For gnarling sorrow hath lesse power to bite
The man that mocks at it and sets it light.

Bul. Oh who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite,
By bare imagination of a feast?
Or wallow naked in December snow,
By thinking on fantastick summers heat?
Oh no, the apprehension of the good

King Richard the second.

Giues but the greater feeling to the worse:
Fell sorrowes tooth doth neuer rancle more
Then when it bites, but lancheth not the soare.

Gaunt. Come come my sonne, Ile bring thee on thy way.
Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay.

Bul. Then Englands ground farewell, sweete soile adiew,
My mother and my nurse that beares me yet.
Where ere I wander, boast of this I can,
Though banisht, yet a true borne Englishman. *Exeunt.*

*Enter the King with Bushie, &c. at one doore, and the
Lord Aumarle at the other.*

King. We did obserue Cousin Aumarle,
How farre brought you high Hereford on his way?

Aum. I brought high Herford, if you call him so,
But to the next high way, and there I left him

King. And say, what store of parting teares were shed?

Aum. Faith none for me, except the Northeast winde,
Which then blew bitterly against our face,
Awakt the sleepe i' hewme, and so by chance
Did grace our hollow parting with a teare.

King. What said your cousin when you parted with him?

Aum. Farewell, & for my heart disdained that my tongue
Should so prophane the word that taught me craft,
To counterfaite oppression of such grieve,
That words seemd buried in my sorrowes graue:
Marry would the word Farewell haue lengthned houres,
And added yeeres to his short banishment,
He should haue had a volume of farewells:
But since it would not, he had none of me.

King. He is our Cousens Cousin, but tis doubt,
When time shall call him home from banishment,
Whether our kinsman comes to see his friends.
Our selfe and Bushie,
Observed his courtship to the common people,
How he did seeme to diue into their hearts,
With humble and familiar curtesie,
With reuerence he did throw away on slaues,

The Tragedie of

Wooing poore craftsmen with the craft of smiles,
And patient vnderbearing of his fortune,
As twere to banish their affects with him,
Off goes his bonnet to an oysterwench,
A brace of draymen bid God speede him well,
And had the tribute of his supple knee,
With thanks my countrey men, my louing friends,
As were our England in reuersion his,
And he our subiects next degree in hope.

Greene. Well, he is gone, and with him go these thoughts.
Now for the rebels which stand out in Ireland,
Expedient mannage must be made my liege,
Ere further leysure yeeld them further meanes
For their aduantage, and your highnesse losse.

King. We will our selfe in person to this war,
And for our coffers, with too great a court
And liberall larges are growne somewhat light,
We are inforst to farme our royall Realme,
The reuenue whereof shall furnish vs.
For our affaires in hand if that come short,
Our substitutes at home shall haue blanke charters,
Where to, when they shall know what men are rich,
They shall subscribe them for large summes of gold,
And send them after to supply our wants,
For we will make for Ireland presently.

Enter Busbie with news.

Busb. Old Iohn of Gaunt is grievous sicke, my Lord,
Sodainely taken, and hath sent post haste,
To intreate your Maiestie to visit him.

King. Where lies he?

Busb. At Ely house!

King. Now put it (God) into the Phisitions mind,
To helpe him to his graue immediatly:
The lining of his coffers shall make coates,
To decke our Souldiours for these Irish wars.
Come Gentlemen, lets all go visit him,
Pray God we may make hast and come too late,
Amen.

Exeunt.

Enter

Enter Iohn of Gaunt sicke, with the Duke of Yorke, &c.

Gaunt. Will the King, come that I may breathe my last,
In holosome counsell to his vnstaied youth?

Yorke. Vex not your selfe, nor strue not with your breath,
For all in vaine comes counsell to his eare.

Gaunt. Oh, but they say, the tongues of dying men
Inforce attention like deepe harmony:
Where words are scarce, they are seldome spent in vaine,
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in paine.
He that no more must say, is listned more
Then they whom youth and ease hath taught to glose.
More are mens ends-markt then their liues before:
The setting Sunne, and musike at the glose,
As the last taste of sweetes is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance, more then things long past.
Though Richard my liues counsell would not heare,
My deaths sad tale may yet vndeafe his eare.

Yorke. No, it is stopt with other flattering sounds,
As praises of his state: then there are found
Lasciuious Meeters, to whose venom sound
The open eare of youth doth alwaies listen.
Report of fashions in proude Italie,
Whose manners still our tardie apish nation
Limps after in base imitation.
Where doth the world thrust forth a vanitie,
So it be new, there's no respect how vile,
That is not quickly buzd into his eares?
Then all too late comes counsell to be heard,
Where will doth mutinie with wits regard.
Direct not him whose way himselfe will choose,
Tis breath thou lackst, and that breath wilt thou loose.
Gaunt. Me thinks I am a prophet new inspirde,
And thus expiring do foretell of him,
His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last:
For violent fires soone burne out themselues,
Small shorres last long, but sodaine stormes are short:
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes.

The Tragedie of

With eager feeding foode doth choke the feedet,
Light vanitie, insatiate cormorant.
Consuming meanes soote prayes vpon it selfe:
This royall throne of Kings, this Sceptred Ile.
This earth of Maiestie, this seate of Mars,
This other Eden, demy Paradise,
This foretresse built by nature for her selfe,
Against infection and the hand of War,
This happie breede of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the siluer sea,
Which serues it in the office of a wall,
Or as moate defensiu to a house,
Against the enuie of lesse happier lands:
This blessed plotte, this earth, this realme, this England,
This nurse, this teeming wombe of royall Kings,
Feard by their breede, and famous by their birth,
Renowned in their deedes as far from home,
For christian seruice and true chiuallrie,
As is the sepulchre in stubborne Iewry,
Of the worlds ransome, blessed Maries sonne:
This land of such deere soules, this deare deare land,
Deare for her reputation through the world,
Is now leasde out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farme.
England bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rockie shoare beates backe the enuious siege
Of waterie Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inkie blottes, and rotten parchment bonds.
That England that was wont to conquere others,
Hath made a shamefull conquest of it selfe:
Ah would the scandall vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death?
Torke. The King is come, deale mildly with his youth,
For yong hot colts being rag'de, do rage the more.

Enter the King and Queene, &c.

Queene. How fares our noble Vncle Lancaster?

King. What comfort man? how ist with aged Gaunt?

Gaunt

King Richard the second.

Gaunt. O how that name befits my composition,
Old Gaunt indeede, and gaunt in being old,
Within me griefe hath kept a tedious fast.
And who abstaines from meate that is not gaunt?
For sleeping England long time haue I watcht,
Watching breeds leanenesse, leanenesse is all gaunt:
The pleasure that some fathers feede vpon,
Is my strict fast, I meane my childrens lookes,
And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.
Gaunt am I for the graue, gaunt as a graue,
Whose hollow wombe inherites nought but bones.

King. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?

Gaunt. No, miserie makes sport to mocke it selfe.
Since thou dost seeke to kill my name in me,
O mocke my name (great King) to flatter thee.

King. Should dying men flatter those that liue?

Gaunt. No, no, men liuing flatter those that die.

King. Thou now a dying sayst thou flatterest me.

Gaunt. Oh no, thou diest though I the sicker be.

King. I am in health, I breathe, I see thee ill.

Gaunt. Now he that made me, knowes I see thee ill,
Ill in my selfe to see, and in thee, seeing ill,
Thy death-bed is no lesser then the land,
VVherein thou liest in reputation sicke,
And thou too carelesse patient as thou art,
Commitst thy annoynted body to the cure
Of those Phisitions that first wounded thee:
A thousand flatterers sit within thy Crowne,
VVhose compasse is no bigger then thy head,
And yet inraged in so small a verge,
The waste is no whit lesser then thy land:
Oh had thy Grandfire with a Prophets eye,
Seene how his sonnes sonne should destroy his sonnes,
From forth they reach he would haue laide thy shame,
Deposing thee before thou wert posselt,
VVhich art posselt now to depose thy selfe.
Why Cousin wert thou regent of the world,
It were a shame to let this land by lease:

[But

The Tragedie of

But for thy world enioying but this land,
Is it not more then shame to shame it so?
Landlord of England art thou now not, not King,
Thy state of law is bondslauē to the law,
And thou.

King. Ah lunaticke leane-witted foole,
Presuming on an agues priuiledge,
Darest with thy frozen admonition
Make pale our cheek, chasing the royall blood
With furie from his natieue residence.
Now by my scates right royall maiestie
Wert thou not brother to great Edwards sonne,
This tongue that runnes so roundly in thy head,
Should runne thy head from thy vnreuerent shoulders.

Gaunt. Oh spare me not my brother Edwards sonne,
For that I was his father Edwards sonne.
That blood alreadie, like the Pellican,
Hast thou tapt and drunkenly carowst:
My brother Gloucester, plaine well meaning soule,
Whom faire befall in heauen mongst happy soules,
May be a president and witnes good:
That thou respectst not spilling Edwards blood.
Ioine with the present sicknes that I haue,
And thy vnkindnes be like crooked age,
To crop at once a too long withered flower.
Liue in thy shame, but die not shame with thee:
These words hereafter, thy tormentors be,
Conuay me to my bed, then to my graue,
Loue they to liue that loue and honour haue.

Exit.

King. And let them die that age and sullens haue,
For both hast thou, and both become the graue.

Yorke. I do beseech your Maiestie, impute his words
To wayward sicklines and age in him:
He loues you on my life, and holdes you deere,
As Harry Duke of Herford, were he here.

King. Right, you say true, as Herfords loue, so his,
As theirs, so mine, and be as it is.

North.

North. My Liege, olde Gaunt commends him to your Ma-
King. What sayes he? (restie.)

North. Nay nothing, all is said:

His tongue is now a stringleffe instrument,
Words, life, and all, olde Lancaster hath spent.

Yorke. Be Yorke the next that must be bankrout so,
Though death be poore, it ends a mortall wo.

King. The ripest fruit first falles, and so doth he,
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be;
So much for that. Now for our Irish wars:
We must supplant those rough rugheaded kernies,
Which liue like venome, where no venome else,
But onely they haue priuiledge to liue.
And for these great affaires do aske some charge,
Towards our assistance we do seaze to vs,
The plate, coine, reuenues, and moueables
Whereof our Vnckle Gaunt did stand posselt.

Yorke. How long shall I be patient? ah how long
Shall tender dutie make me suffer wrong?
Not Glocesters death, nor Herefords banishment,
Nor Gaunts rebukes, nor Englands priuate wrongs,
Nor the preuention of poore Bullingbrooke
About his marriage, nor my owne disgrace,
Haue euer made me sweete my patient cheeke,
Or bende one wrinkle on my soueraignes face:
I am the last of the noble Edwards sonnes,
Of whom thy father Prince of Wales was first.
In warre was neuer Lion ragde more fierce,
In peace was neuer gentle lambe more milde
Then was that yong and princely gentleman:
His face thou hast, for euen so lookt he,
Accomplisht with a number of thy houres;
But when he frowned, it was against the French,
And not against his friends: his noble hand
Did win what he did spend, and spent not that
Which his triumphant fathers hand had wonne:
His hands were guiltie of no kindred blood,
But bloody with the enemies of his kinne.

The Tragedie of

Oh Richard ! Yorke is too farre gone with griefe,
Or else he never would compare betweene.

King. Why Vnckle, whats the matter?

Yorke. Oh my liege, pardon me if you please,
If not, I pleasd, not to be pardoned, am content with all:
Seeke you to seize and gripe into your hands,
The royalties and rights of banisht Hereford?
Is not Gaunt dead? and doth nor Herford live?
Was not Gaunt iust? and is not Harry true?
Did not the one deserue to haue an heyre?
Is not his heyre a well deseruing sonne?
Take Herefords rights away, and take from time
His charters and his customarie rights;
Let not to morrow then ensue to day:
Be not thy selfe; For how art thou a King,
But by faire sequence and succession?
New afore God, God forbid I say true,
If you doe wrongfully seize Herfords right,
Call in the Letters patents that he hath
By his attournies generall to sue
His liuery, and deny his offered homage.
You plucke a thousand dangers on your head,
You loſe a thousand well disposed hearts,
And prickte my tender patience to those thoughts,
Which honour and alleageance cannot thinke.

King. Thinke what you will, we seize into our hands,
His plate, his goods, his money and his land.

Yorke. Ile not be by the while, my liege farewell,
What will insue hereof, there's none can tell:
But by bad courses may be vnderstood,
That their euents can neuer fall out good. *Exit.*

King. Go Bushie, to the Earle of Wiltshire straight,
Bid him repayre to vs to Ely house,
To see this businesse: to morrow next
We will for Ireland, and t'is time I crow;
And we create in absence of our selfe,
Our Vnckle Yorke, Lord Gouvernour of England;
For he is iust, and alwayes loued vs well:

Come on our Queene, to morrow must we part,
Be merry, for our time of stay is short.

Exeunt King and Queene. Enter North.

North. Well Lords, the Duke of Lancaster is dead.

Rosse. And liuing too, for now his sonne is Duke.

Willough. Barely in title, not in reuenues.

North. Richly in both, if iustice had her right.

Rosse. My heart is great, but it must breake with silence,
Er't be disburdened with a liberall tongue.

North. Nay speake thy mind, & let him ne're speake more
That speakes thy words againe to doe thee harme.

Willough. Tend's that thou wouldst speake to the D. of Her-

If it be so, out with it boldly man, (ford?)

Quicke is mine eare to heare of good towards him.

Rosse. No good at all that I can doe for him:

Vnlesse you call it good to pittie him,

Bereft and gelded of his patrimony.

North. Now afore God t is shame, such wrongs are borne,
In him a royall Prince, and many mo
Of noble blood in this declining land;
The king is not himselfe, but basely led
By flatterers, and what they will informe,
Meerely in hate against any of vs all,
That will the King seuerely prosecute,
Against vs, our liues, our children, and our heires.

Rosse. The commons hath he pild with grievous taxes,
And quite lost their hearts. The Nobles hath he fin'd
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.

Willough. And dayly new exactions are deuise,
As blankes, benevolences, and I wot not what,
But what a Gods name doth become of this?

Willough. Wars hath not wasted it, for warr'd he hath not,
But basely yeelded vpon compromise,
That which his noble Auncesors atchiude with blowes:
More hath he spent in peace then they in wars.

Rosse. The Earle of Wiltshire hath the Realme in farme.

Willough. The King's growne bankrout like a broken man.

The Tragedy of

North. Reproach and dissolution hangeth ouer him.

Rosse. He hath not money for these Iush wars,
His burthenous taxations notwithstanding,
But by the robbing of the banisht Duke.

North. His noble kinsman most degenerate King:
But Lords, we heare this fearefull tempest sing,
Yet seeke no shelter to auoyde the storme.
We see the winde sit sore vpon our sailes,
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.

Rosse. We see the verie wracke that we must suffer,
And enauoyded is the danger now,
For suffering so the causes of our wracke.

North. Not so, euen through the hollow cies of death,
I espie life peering, but I dare not say,
How neare the tidings of our comfort is.

Wil. Nay let vs share thy thoughts as thou dost ours.

Rosse. Be confident to speake Northumberland,
We three are but thy selves; and speaking so,
Thy words are but as thoughts, therefore be bold.

North. Then thus, I haue from le Port Blan
A bay in Brittainie receiue intelligence,
That Harry Duke of Hereforde, Rainold L. Cobham,
That late broke from the Duke of Exeter
His brother Archbishop late of Canterbury,
Sir Thomas Erpingham, sir Iohn Ramston,
Sir Iohn Norbery, sir Robert Waterton, & Francis Coines,
All these well furnished by the Duke of Brittainie
With eight tall ships, three thousand men of war,
Are making hither with all due expedience,
And shortly meane to touch our Northern shore:
Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay
The first departing of the King for Ireland,
If then we shall shake off our countries slavish yoke,
Impe out our drowping countries broken wing,
Redeeme from broken pawne the blemisht Crowne,
Wipe off the dust that hides our see pters guilt,
And make high Maiestie looke like it selfe;
Away with me in post to Rauenspurgh:

But

King Richard the second.

But if you faint, as fearing to do so,
Stay, and be secret, and my selfe will go.

Rosse. To horse, to horse, vrge doubts to them that feare.

Will. Hold out my horse, and I will first be there.

Exeunt.

Enter the Queene, Busbie, and Bagot.

Busb. Madam, your maiestie is too much sadde,
You promist when you parted with the king,
To lay aside halfe-harming heauinesse,
And entertaine a cheerefull disposition.

Queene. To please the King I did, to please my selfe
I cannot doo it, yet I know no cause
Why I should welcome such a guest as Griefe,
Saue bidding farewell to so sweete a guest,
As my sweete Richard: yet againe me thinkes
Some vnborne sorrow ripe in Fortunes wombe
Is comming towards me and my inward soule,
With nothing trembles, at some thing it grieues,
More then with parting from my Lord the King.

Busb. Each substance of a griefe hath twentie shadowes,
Which shewes like griefe it selfe, but is not so:
For Sorrowes eyes glazed with blinding teares,
Diuides one thing entire to many obiects,
Like perspectiues, which rightly gazde vpon,
Shew nothing but confusion, eyde awry,
Distinguish forme: so your sweete maiestie,
Looking awry vpon your Lords departure,
Find shapes of griefe more then himselfe to waile,
Which lookt on as it is, is naught but shadowes
Of what it is not, then thrice (gracious Queene)
More then your Lords departure weep not, more is not scene,
Or if it be, tis with false sorrowes eyes,
Which for things true, weepes things imaginarie.

Queene. It may be so, but yet my inward soule
Perswades me it is otherwise: how ere it be,
I cannot but be sad: so heauie sad,
As though on thinking on no thought I thinke,
Makes me with heauie nothing faint and shrinke.

The Tragedie of

Busbie Tis nothing but conceite (my gracious Lady.)

Queene Tis nothing lesse, conceit is still deriude
From some forefather Griefe, mine is not so,
For nothing hath begot my something griefe,
Or something hath the nothing that I grieve,
Tis in reuerſion that I do poſſeſſe,
But what it is, that is not yet knowne, what
I cannot name, tis namelesse wo I wot.

Greene God ſaue your Maieſtie, and well met Gentlemen,
I hope the King is not yet ſhippt for Ireland.

Queene Why hopeſt thou ſo? tis better hope he is,
For his deſignes craue haſte, his haſte good hope:
Then wherefore doſt thou hope he is not ſhippt?

Greene That he our hope might haue retirde his power,
And driuen into deſpaire an enemies hope,
Who ſtrongly hath ſet footing in this land,
The baniſht Bullingbrooke repeales himſelfe,
And with vplifted armes is ſafe ariude at Rauenspurgh.

Queene Now God in heaven forbid.

Greene Ah Madam tis too true, and that is worſe:
The Lord Northumberland, his yong ſonne H. Piercie,
The Lords of Roſſe, Beaumont, and Willoughby,
With all their powerfull friends are fled to him.

Busbie Why haue you not proclaimde Northumberland
And the reſt of the reuolted faction, traitours?

Greene We haue, whereupon the Earle of Worceſter
Hath broke his ſtaffe, reſignd his ſtewardſhip,
And all the houſhold ſeruants fled with him to Bullingbrook

Queene So Greene, thou art the midwife of my wo,
And Bullingbrooke, my ſorrowes diſmall heire,
Now hath my ſoule brought forth her prodigie,
And I a gasping new deliuerd mother,
Haue woe to woe, ſorrow to ſorrow ioyned.

Busbie Diſpaire not Madam.

Queene Who ſhall hinder me?
I will diſpaire and beat enmity,
With couſening Hope, he is a flatterer,
A paraſite, a keeper backe of death,

King Richard the second.

Who gently would dissolue the bands of life,
Which false Hope lingers in extreãmyty.

Greene Heere comes the Duke of Yorke,

Queene With signes of war about his aged necke,
Oh full of carefull businesse are his lookes,
Vncle for Gods sake speake comfortable words.

Torke Should I do so, I should bely my thoughts,
Comfort's in heauen, and we are on the earth,
Where nothing liues but crosses, care, and griefe.
Your husband he is gone to saue far off,
Whilst others come to make him loose at home:
Heere am I left to vnderprop his land,
Who weake with age cannot support my selfe.
Now comes the sicke houre that his surfet made,
Now shall he trie his friends that flatterd him.

Seruingman My Lord, your sonne was gone before I came.

Torke He was, why so, go all which way it will:
The nobles they are fled, the commons they are cold,
And will (I feare) reuolt on Herefords side.
Sirra, get thee to Plashie to my sister Gloucester,
Bid her send me presently a thousand pound,
Hold take my ring.

Seruingman My Lord, I had forgot to tell your Lordship,
To day I came by and called there,
But I shall grieue you to report the rest.

Torke What i'tt knaue?

Seruingman An houre before I came the Dutchesse died.

Torke God for his mercy! w hat a tyde of woe:
Comes rushing on this wofull land at once?
I know not what to do: I would to God
(So my vntruth had not prouokt him to it)
The King had cut of my head with my brothers.
What are there two posts dispatch for Ireland?
How shall we do for money for these wars?
Come sister, coosin I would say, pray pardon me,
Go fellow, get thee home, prouide some Carts,
And bring away the armour that is there.
Gentlemen, will you go muster men?

If I know how or which way to order these affaires,
Thus disorderly thrust into my hands,
Neuer beleue me: both are my kinsmen;
T'one is my Soueraigne, whom both my oath
And dutie bids defend: t'other againe
Is my kinsman, whom the King hath wrong'd,
Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right.
Well, somewhat we must doe: come Cousin,
He dispose of you: Gentlemen, goe muster vp your men,
And meete me presently at Barckly:
I should to plashie too, but time will not permit:
All is vncuen, and euery thing is left at sixe and seven.

Exeunt Duke, & Queene, manent Bush & Greene.

Bush. The wind sits faire for newes to goe for Ireland,
But none returnes. For vs to leuie power
Proportionable to the enimie, is all vnpossible.

Greene. Besides our neere nesse to the King in loue
Is neere the hate of those loue not the King.

Bag. And that is the wauering Commons, for their loue
Lies in their purses, and who so empties them,
By so much fill: s their hearts with deadly hate.

Bush. Wherein the King stands generally condemn'd.

Bag. If iudgement be in them, then so doe wee,
Because we euer haue beene neere the King.

Greene. Well, I will for refuge straight to Brist. Castle,
The Earle of Wiltshire is already there.

Bush. Thither will I with you, for little office
Will the hatefull Commons performe for vs,
Except like cutrs, to teare vs all in peeces:
Will you goe along with vs?

Bag. No, I will to Ireland to his Maiestie:
Farewell, if hearts prelagies bee not vaine,
We three here part, that nere shall meete againe.

Bush. Thats as Yorke thriues to beat backe Bullingbrook.

Greene. Alas poore Duke, the taske he vndertakes,
Is numbring sands, and drinking Oceans dry,
Where one on his side fights, thousands will flie,
Farewell at once, for once, for all and euen.

King Richard the second.

Bush. Well, we may meete againe.

Bag. I feare me neuer.

Enter Hereford: Northumberland.

Bull. How farre is it my Lord to Barckly now?

North. Beleeue me noble Lord,

I am a stranger in Gloucestershire,
These high wild hills and rough vnouen wayes,
Drawes out our miles, and makes them wearisome,
And yet your faire discourse hath beene as sugar,
Making the hard way sweete and delectable,
But I bethinke me what a weary way,
From Rauenspurgh to Cotshall will be found,
In Rosse and *Wiltoughby* wanting your company,
Which I protest hath very much beguild
The tediousnesse and processe of my travell:
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to haue
The present benefite that I possesse,
And hope to ioy is little lesse in ioy,
Then hope enjoyed: by this the weary Lords
Shall make their way seeme short, as mine hath done,
By sight of what I haue, your noble companie.

Bull. Of much lesse value is my company,
Then your good words. But who comes here?

Enter Harry Persie.

North. It is my sonne, yong Harry Persy,
Sent from my brother Worcester whence he comes:
Harry, how fares your Vnckle? (of you.)

H. Per. I had thought my Lord to haue learned his health

North. Why? is he not with the Queen?

H. Per. No my good Lord, he hath forsooke the Court
Broken his staffe of office, and dispersd
The household of the King.

North. What was his reason? he was not so resolute,
When last we spake together.

H. Per. Because your Lordship was proclaimed traytour,
But he my Lord is gone to Rauenspurgh,
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,
And sent me over by Barckly to discouer,

The Tragedie of

What power the duke of Yorke had leuied there,
Then with directions to repaire to Rauenspurgh.

North. Haue you forgot the duke of *Hereford*, boy?

H. Per. No my good Lord, for that is not forgot
Which ne're I did remember, to my knowledge
I neuer in my life did looke on him.

North. Then learne to know him now, this is the Duke.

H. Per. My gracious Lord, I tender you my seruice,
Such as it is, being tender, raw, and yong,
Which elder dayes shall ripen and confirme
To more approoued seruice and desert.

Bull. I thanke thee gentle *Percie*, and be sure,
I count my selfe in nothing else so happy,
As in a soule remembring my good friends:
And as my fortune ripens with thy loue,
It shall be still thy true loues recompence,
My heart this couenant makes, my hand thus scales it.

North. How farre is it to *Barkley*, and what flurre
Keepes good old Yorke there with his men of warre?

H. Per. There stands the Castle by yon tuft of trees,
Mann'd with three hundred men, as I haue heard:
And in it are the Lordes of *Yorke*, *Barkeley*, and *Seymor*,
None else of name and noble estimate.

Nor. Here come the Lords of *Rosse* and *Willoughby*,
Bloudy with spurring, fiery red with haste.

Bull. Welcome my Lords, I wot your loue pursues
A banisht traitour: all my treasury
Is yet but vnfelt thanks, which more enricht,
Shall be your loue and labours recompence.

Rosse. Your presence makes vs rich, most noble Lord.

Will. And farre surmounts our labour to attaine it.

Bull. Euermore thanke's the Exchequer of the poore,
Which till my infant fortune comes to yeares,
Stands for my bounty: but who comes heere?

North. It is my Lord of *Barkeley*, as I guesse.

Barkeley. My Lord of *Hereford*, my message is to you.

Bull. My Lord, my answer is to *Lancaster*,
And I am come to seeke that name in *England*,

And

King Richard the second.

And I must finde that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say.

Burk. Mistake me not my lord, tis not my meaning,
To race one title of your honour out :
To you my Lord I come, what Lord you will,
From the most glorious of this land,
The duke of *Yorke*, to know what pricketh you on,
To take aduantage of the absent time,
And fright our native peace with selfe-borne armes?

Bull. I shall not neede transport my words by you,
Heere comes his Grace in person : My noble vnckle!

Yorke Shew me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,
Whose duty is deceiueable and false.

Bull. My gracious vnckle!

Yorke Tut, tut, grace me no grace, nor vnckle me no vnckle,
I am no traitors vnckle, and that word Grace
In an vngracious mouth, is but prophane:
Why haue those banisht and forbidden legs
Darde once to touch a dust of *Englands* ground?
But more than why? why haue they darde to march
So many miles vpon her peacefull bosome,
Friting her pale facde villages with warre,
And ostentation of despised armes?
Comst thou because th' annointed king is hence?
Why foolish boy, the king is left behinde,
And in my loyall bosome lies his power,
Were I but now Lord of such hote youth,
As when braue *Gaunt* thy father, and my selfe,
Rescued the blacke Prince that yong *Mars* of men,
From forth the ranckes of many thousands French,
O then how quickly should this arme of mine,
Now prisoner to the palsey chastise thee,
And minister correction to thy fault!

Bull. My gracious vnckle, let me know my fault,
On what condition stands it, and wherein?

Yorke Euen in condition of the worst degree,
In grosse rebellion, and detested treason:
Thou art a banisht man, and heere art come,

The Tragedie of

Before the expiration of thy time,
In brauing armes against my Soueraigne.

Bull. As I was banisht, I was banisht Hereford,
But as I come, I come for Lancaster,
And noble Vnckle, I beseech your Grace,
Looke on my wrongs with an indifferent eye:
You are my father, or me thinks in you
I see old Gaunt alieue. Oh then father,
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd
A wandering vagabond, my rights and royalties
Pluckt from my armes perforce, and giuen away
To vpstart vnthrifts? wherefore was I borne?
If that my Coosin King be King of England,
It must be graunted I am Duke of Lancaster:
You haue a sonne, Aumerle, my noble Coosin,
Had you first died, and he beene thus trod downe,
He should haue found his Vnckle Gaunt a fa her,
To rowze his wrongs, and chase them to the Bay.
I am denied to sue my liuerie heere,
And yet my letters pattents giue me leaue.
My fathers goods are all distrain'd and sold,
And these, and all, are all amisse employed.
What would you haue me doe? I am a subiect,
And I challenge law, Attornies are denide me,
And therefore personally I lay my claime
To my inheritance of free descent.

North. The noble Duke hath beene too much abusde.

Rosse. It stands your Grace vpon, to doe him right.

Willough. Base men by his endowments are made great.

Turke. My Lords of England, let me tell you this:

I haue had feeling of my Coosins wrongs,
And laboured all I could to doe him right;
But in this kinde, to come in brauing armes;
Be his owne earuer, and cutte out his way;
To find out right with wrongs it may not be:
And you that doe abette him in this kinde,
Cherish rebellion, and are rebels all.

North. The noble Duke hath sworne, his comming is

But

King Richard the second.

But for his owne, and for the right of that,
We all haue strongly sworne to giue him ayde:
And let him ne're see ioy that breakes that oath.

Yorke Well, well, I see the issue of these armes,
I cannot mend it, I must needes confesse,
Because my power is weake and all ill left:
But if I could, by him that gaue me life,
I would attach you all, and make you stoope
Vnto the soueraigne mercy of the King.
But since I cannot, be it knowne to you,
I doe remaine as newter; so fare you well,
Vnlesse you please to enter in the Castle,
And there repose you for this night.

Bul. An offer vnckle that we will accept,
But we must winne your Grace to goe with vs
To *Bristow* Castle, which they say is held
By *Bushy*, *Bagot*, and their complices,
The caterpillers of the common-wealth,
Which I haue sworne to weede and plucke away.

Yorke It may be I will goe with you, but yet Ile pawse,
For I am loath to breake our Countries lawes:
Nor friends, nor foes, to me welcome you are,
Things past redresse, are now with me past care.

Enter Earle of Salisbury, and a Welch Captaine.

Welch My Lord of *Salisbury*, we haue staide tenne dayes,
And hardly kept our countrymen together,
And yet we heare no tidings from the King,
Therefore we will disperse our selues, farewell.

Salis. Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welchman,
The King reposeth all his confidence in thee.

Welch Tis thought the King is dead, wee will not stay.
The Bay trees in our Countrey all are witherd,
And Meteors fright the fixed starres of heauen,
The pale facde Moone lookes bloody on the earth,
And leane look't prophets whisper fearefull change,
Rich men looke sadde, and ruffians daunce and leape,
The one in feare to loose what they enioy,

The Tragedie of

The other to enioy by rage and war,
These signes fore-run the death of Kings.
Farewell, our Countrymen are gone and fled,
As well assured Richard their King is dead,

Sal. Ah Richard! with eyes of heauy mind,
I see thy glory like a shooting star,
Fall to the base earth from the firmament,
Thy sunne sets, weeping in the lowly West,
Witnesssing stormes to come, woe, and vnrest:
Thy friendes are fled to waite vpon thy foes,
And crossely to thy good all fortune goes.

*Enter Duke of Hereford, Yorke, Northumberland,
Bushie and Greene prisoners.*

Bull. Bring forth these men.

Bushie and Greene, I will not vex your soules,
Since presently your soules must part your bodies,
With too much yrting your pernicious liues,
For t were no charity; yet to wash your blood
From off my hands, here in the view of men,
I will vnfold some causes of your death,
You haue mis-led a Prince, a royall King,
A happy Gentleman in blood and lineaments,
By you unhappied and disfigured cleane,
You haue in manner with your sinfull houres,
Made a diuorce betwixt his Queene and him,
Broke the possession of a royall bed,
And staynde the beutie of a fayre Queenes cheekes,
With teares drawne from her eyes with your foule wrongs,
My selfe a Prince by fortune of my birth,
Neere to the King in blood, and neere in loue,
Till they did make him mis-interpret me,
Haue stoopt my necke vnder your iniuries,
And sigh'd my English breath in forren cloudes,
Eating the bitter bread of banishment,
While you haue fedde vpon my seignories,
Disparkt my parks, and felld my Forrest woods,
From mine owne windowes torne my household coate,
Rac't out my impreece, leauing me no signe,

Sauce

King Richard the second.

Sauce mens opinions, and my living blood,
To shew the world I am a Gentleman.
This and much more, much more then twice all this
Condemns you to the death: see them deliuered ouer
To execution and the hand of death.

Bushie More welcome is the stroke of death to me,
Then Bullingbrooke to England, Lords farewell.

Greene My comfort is, that heauen will take our soules,
And plague iniustice with the paines of hell.

Bull. My Lord Northumberland see them dispatche:
Vnckle, you say, the Queene is at your house,
For Gods sake fairely let her be intreated,
Tell her, I send to her my kinde commends;
Take speciall care my greetings be deliuered.

Torke A gentleman of mine I haue dispatcht,
With letters of your loue to her at large.

Bull. Thanks (gentle Vnckle:) come Lords, away,
To fight with Glendör and his complices,
A while to worke, and after, holiday.

Exeunt.

Enter the King, Aumerle, Carleil, &c.

King Barkloughly Castle call you this at hand?

Aum. Yea my Lord, how brook's your Grace the ayre;
After your late tossing on the breaking Seas?

King Needes must I like it well, I weepe for ioy,
To stand vpon my kingdome once againe.
Deare earth, I doe salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses hooves:
As a long parted mother with her child,
Playes fondly with her teares, and smiles in meeting;
So weeping, smiling, greete I thee my earth,
And do thee fauour with my royall hands;
Feede not thy soueraignes foe, my gentle earth,
Nor with thy sweetes comfort his rauinous sence,
But let thy spiders, that sucke vp thy venome,
And heauy gated toads lie in their way,
Doing annoyance to the trecherous feete,
Which with vsurping steps doe trample thee.

Ycelde

The Tragedie of

Yeele stinging nettles to mine enemies:
And when they from thy bosome plucke a flower,
Guarde it: I pray thee with a lurking Adder,
Whose double tongue may with a mortall touch,
Throw death vpon thy Soueraignes enemies:
Mocke not my senslesse coniuration Lords:
This earth shall haue a feeling, and these stones
Prooue armed souldiers ere her native King
Shall falter vnder foule rebellious armes.

Carl. Feare not my Lord, that powre that made you king,
Hath powre to keepe you king in spite of all,
The meanes that heauens yeeld must be imbrac'd,
And not neglected. Else heauen would,
And we would not; heauens offer, we refuse
The proffred meanes of succours and redresse.

Aum. He meanes, my Lord, that we are too remisse,
Whilst *Bullingbrooke*, through our security,
Growes strong and great in substance and in power.

King. Discomfortable cousin, knowst thou not,
That when the searching eie of heauen is hid
Behinde the globe that lights the lower world,
Then theeues and robbers range abroad vncene,
In murders, and in outrage bloody heere.
But when from vnder his terrestriall ball,
He fires the prowde tops of the easterne pines,
And dartes his light through euery guilty hole:
Then murders, treasons, and detested finnes,
The cloake of night being pluckt from off their backs,
Stand bare and naked trembling at themselves?
So when this thiefe, this traitour *Bullingbrooke*,
Who all this while hath reuel'd in the night
Whilst we were wandring with the Antipodes,
Shall see vs rising in our throane the East,
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day,
But selfe affrighted, trembled at his sinne,
Not all the water in the rough iud: Sea,
Can wash the baine off from an annoynted King.

The

King Richard the second.

The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord,
For every man that *Bullingbrooke* hath prest,
To lift shrewd Steele against our golden crowne,
God for his *Roe* hath in heavenly pay,
A glorious Angel: then if Angels fight,
Weake men must fall, for heauen still guardes the right.

Enter Salisb.

King Welcome my Lo: how farre off lies your power?

Salisb. Nor neere nor farther off, my grations Lo:
Than this weake arme; discomfort guides my tongue,
And bids me speake of nothing but Despaire,
One day too late, I feare, my noble Lo:
Hath clouded all thy happy dayes on earth,
O call backe yesterday, bid Time returne,
And thou shalt haue twelue thousand fighting men:
To day, to day, vnhappy day, too late,
Ouerthrowes thy ioyes, friends, fortune and thy state:
For all the Welchmen hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to *Bullingbrooke*, disperst, and fled.

Aum. Comfort, my liege, why lookes your Grace so pale?

King But now the bloud of twenty thousand men
Did triumph in my face, and they are fled:
And till so much bloud thither come againe,
Haue I not reason to looke pale and dead?
All soules that will be safe, flie from my side,
For Time hath set a blot vpon my pride.

Aum. Comfort, my Liege, remember who you are.

King I had forgot my selfe, Am I not King?
Awake thou coward, Maiestie thou sleepest,
Is not the Kings name twentie thousand names?
Arme, arme, my name a puny subiect strikes
At thy great glory, looke not to the ground,
Yee fauourites of a King, are we not high?
High be our thoughts, I know my vncke *Torke*
Hath power enough to serue our turne: but who comes heere?

Enter Scroope.

Scroope More health and happinesse betide my Liege,

F

Then

The Tragedie of

Then can my care tūde tongue deliuer him.

King Mine eare is open, and my heart prepard,

The worst is worldly losse thou canst vnfold.

Say, is my kingdome lost? why twas my care,

And what losse is it to be rid of care?

Striues Bullingbrooke to be as great as we?

Greater he shall not be if he serue God,

Weele serue him too, and be his fellow so,

Reuolt our subiects? that we cannot mend,

They breake their faith to God as well as vs:

Cry wo, destruction, ruine, and decay,

The worst is death, and death will haue his day.

Scroo. Glad am I, that your highnesse is so armde,

To beare the tidings of calamitie,

Like an vnseasonable stormie day,

Which make the siluer Riuers drowne their shores.

As if the world were all dissolude to teares,

So high aboue his limits swels the rage

Of Bullingbrooke, couering your fearefull land

With hard bright Steele, and hearts harder then Steele:

White beards haue armde their thinn and hairelesse scalps

Against thy Maiestie: and boyes with womens voyces

Striue to speake bigge, and clap their female ioynts

In stiffe vnwildie armes: against thy Crowne,

Thy very beardsmen learne to bend their browes,

Of double fatale wo against thy state.

Yea distaffe women mannage rustie billes:

Against thy seate both yong and old rebell,

And all goes worfe then I haue power to tell.

King Too well, too well thou telst a tale so ill.

Where is the Earle of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?

What is become of Bushie? where is Greene?

That they haue let the dangerous enemy

Measure our confines with such peacefull steps.

If we preuaile, their heads shall pay for it:

I warrant they haue made peace with Bullingbrooke.

Scroo. Peace haue they made with him indeede my Lord.

King Oh villaines, vipers, damnd without redemption,

Dogs

Dogs easily wonne to fawne on any man.
Snakes in my heart bloud warmd, that sting my heart;
Three Iudasles, each one thrice worse then Iudas,
Would they make peace? terrible hell
Make warre vpon their spotted soules for this.

Scro. Sweete loue's (I see) changing: his property
Turnes to the sowrest and most deadly hate.
Againe vncurse their soules, their peace is made.
With head, and not with hands, those whom you curse
Haue felt the worst of deaths destroying wound,
And lie full low graud in the hollow ground.

Aum. Is Bushie, Greene, and the Earle of Wiltshire dead?

Scro. Yea, all of them at Bristow lost their heads.

Aum. Where is the Duke my father with his power?

King No matter where, of comfort no man speake.
Lets talke of graues, of wormes, and Epitaphs,
Make dust our paper, and with rainie eyes
Write sorrow on the bosome of the earth.
Lets choose executors and talke of wils:
And yet not so, for what can we bequeath,
Saue our deposed bodies to the ground?
Our lands, our liues, and all are Bullingbrookes,
And nothing can we call our owne, but death,
And that small modell of the barren earth,
Which serues as paste and couer to our bones.
For Gods sake let vs sit vpon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of Kings,
How some haue bene deposde, some flaine in war,
Some haunted by the ghosts they haue deposed,
Some poysoned by their wiues, some sleeping kild:
All murthered: for within the hollow Crowne
That rounds the mortall temples of a King,
Keepes death his court, and there the antique sits,
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pompe,
Allowing him a breath, a little sceane,
To Monarchise, be feard, and kill with lookes,
Infusing him with selfe and vaine conceit,
As if this flesh which walles about our life,

The Tragedie of

Were brasse impregnable : and humord thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little pin,
Bores through his castle walles, and farewell king.
Couer your heades, and mocke not flesh and blood,
With solemne reuerence throw away respect,
Tradition, forme, and ceremonious dutie,
For you haue but mistooke me all this while,
I liue with bread like you, feeble want,
Taste griefe, neede friends: subiected thus,
How can you say to mee I am a King?

Carl. My Lord, wisemen ne're sit and waile their woes,
But presently preuent the waies to waile,
To feare the foe, since feare oppresseth strength,
Giues in your weakenesse strength vnto your foe,
And so your follies fight against your selfe:
Feare, and be slaine, no worse can come to fight:
And fight and die, is death destroying death,
Where fearing dying, payes death seruile breath.

Aum. My father hath a power, inquire of him,
And learne to make a bodie of a limme.

Ki. Thou chidst me wel, prowd *Bullingbrooke*, I come
To change blowes with thee for our day of doome:
This agew fit of feare is ouerblowne,
An easie taske it is to winne our owne.
Say *Scroope*, where lies our vncle with his power?
Speake sweetely man, although thy lookes be fower.

Scroope Men iudge by the complexion of the Skie,
The state and inclination of the day,
So may you by my dull and heauie cie:
My tongue hath but a heauier tale to say,
I play the torturer by small and small;
To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken,
Your vncle *Yorke* is ioyn'd with *Bullingbrooke*,
And all your northerne Castles yeelded vp,
And all your Southerne Gentlemen in armes
Vpon his partie.

King Thou hast said enough:
Bethrew thee coosin which didst leade me forth

King Richard the second.

Of that sweete way I was in to dispaire.
What say you now? what comfort haue we now?
By heauen Ile hate him euerlastingly,
That bids me be of comfort any more,
Go to Flint Castle, there Ile pine away,
A King woes slaue shall kingly wo obey:
That power I haue, discharge, and let them go
To eare the land that hath some hope to grow:
For I haue none, let no man speake againe
To alter this, for counsell is but vaine.

Ann. My Liege one word.

King. He does me double wrong,
That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongues:
Discharge my followers, let them hence away,
From Richards night, to Bullingbrookes faire day.

Enter Bull. Yorke, North.

Bul. So that by this intelligence we learne,
The Welchmen are dispearst, and Salisbury
Is gone to meete the King, who lately landed
With some few priuate friends vpon this coast.

North. The newes is very faire and good my Lord,
Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

Yorke. It would beseeme the Lord Northumberland
To say King Richard; alacke the heauie day,
When such a sacred King should hide his head.

North. Your Grace mistakes: onely to be brieft
Left I his title out.

Yorke. The time hath bin, would you haue bin so brieft with
He would haue bene so brieft to shorten you, (him,
For taking to the head, your whole heads length.

Bul. Mistake not (Vnckle) further then you should.

Yorke. Taken not (good Coosin) further then you should,
Least you mistake the heauens are ouer your heads,

Bul. I know it Vnckle, and oppose not my selfe
Against their will. But, who comes heere? *Enter Percie.*
Welcome Harry: what, will not this Castle yeeld?

H. Percie. The Castle is royally mand my Lord.
Against thy entrance.

The Tragedie of

Bull. Royally, why it containes no King.

H. Per. Yes (my good Lord)

It doth containe a King, King Richard lies
Within the limits of yon lime and stone,
And with him the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisburie,
Sir Steephens Scroope, besides a Clergie man
Of holy reuerence, who I cannot learne.

North. Oh belike it is the Bishop of Carleil.

Bull. Noble Lords,

Go to the rude ribbes of that ancient Castle,
Through brasen trumpet send the breath of parlee
Into his ruinde eares, and thus deliuer.
H. Bull. on both his knees, doth kissing Richards hand,
And sends allegiance and true faith of heart
To his royall person: hither come
Euen at his feete, to lay my armes and power:
Provided, that my banishment repeald,
And lands restored againe be freely graunted,
If not, Ile vse the aduantage of my power,
And lay the summers dust with showres of blood,
Rainde from the woundes of slaughtered Englishmen:
The which, how far off from the mind of Bullingbrooke
It is, such crimson tempest should be drench
The fresh greene lap of faire king Richards land,
My stooping dutie tenderly shall shew,
Go signifie as much, while here we march
Vpon the grassie carpet of this plaine;
Lets march without the noyse of threatning drumme,
That from this Castles rattered battlements,
Our fayre appointments may be well perusde.
Me thinkes king Richard and my selfe should meete
With no lesse terror then the Elements
Of fire and water, when their thundring smoke,
At meeting teares the cloudy cheekes of heauen.
Be he the fire, Ile be the yeciding water,
The rage be his, whilst on the earth I raigne
My water's on the earth, and not on him,
March on, and marke king Richard how he lookes.

King Richard the second.

The trumpets sound, Richard appeareth on the walls.

Ent. See see, king Richard doth himselfe appeare,
As doth the blushing discontented Sunne,
From out the fiery portall of the East,
When he perceiues the enuious cloudes are bent
To dimme his glorie, and to staine the tracke
Of his bright passage to the Occident.

Torke Yet lookes he like a king, behold his eye,
As bright as is the Eagles, lightens forth
Controlling Maiestie; alacke alacke for woe,
That any harme should staine so faire a shew.

King We are amazd, and thus long haue we stood,
To watch the fearefull bending of thy knee,
Because we thought our selfe thy lawfull king:
And if we be, how dare thy ioyns forget
To pay their awefull dutie to our presence?
If we be not, shew vs the hand of God
That hath dismiss vs from our stewardship;
For well we know, no hand of blood and bone
Can gripe the sacred handle of our Scepter,
Vnlesse he doe prophane, steale, or vsurpe:
And though you thinke that all as you haue done,
Haue torne their soules, by turning them from vs,
And we are barren and bereft of friends:
Yet know, my maister God omnipotent,
Is mustering in his cloudes on our behalfe,
Armies of pestilence, and they shall strike
Your children yet vnborne, and vnbegot,
That lift your vassaile hands against my head,
And threat the glory of my precious Crowne,
Tell Bullingbrooke, for you me thinkes he stands,
That euery stride he makes vpon my land,
Is dangerous treason: he is come to open
The purple testament of bleeding war:
But ere the crowne he lookes for, lye in peace,
Ten thousand bloody crownes of mothers sonnes,
Shall ill become the flower of Englands face,
Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace,

The Tragedie of

To scarlet indignation, and bedew
Her pastures grasse with faithfull English blood.

North. The King of heauen forbid: our Lord the King,
Should so with ciuill and vnciuill armes
Be rusht vpon. Thy thrise noble coosin.
Harry Bullingbrooke doth humbly kisse thy hand,
And by the honourable tombe he sweares,
That stands vpon your royall grandfires bones,
And by the royalties of both your bloods.
Currents that spring from one most gracious head,
And by the buried hand of warlike Gaunt,
And by the worth and honor of himselfe,
Comprising all that may be sworne or saide,
His comming hither hath no further scope,
Then for his lineall royalties, and to begge
Infranchisement immediate on his knees,
Which on thy royall partie granted once,
His glittering armes he will commend to rust,
His barbed steeds to stables, and his heart
To faithfull seruice of your Maiestie.
This sweares he, as he is a Prince iust,
And as I am a Gentleman I credit him.

King Northumberland, say thus: the King returnes,
His noble coosin is right welcome hither,
And all the number of his faire demaundes
Shall be accomplit without contradiction,
With all the gracious vtterance thou hast.
Speake to his gentle hearing kinde commends.

King. We do debase our selues Coosin, do we not?
To looke so poorely and to speake so faire?
Shall we call backe Northumberland, and send
Defiance to the traitour, and so die?

Aum. No good my Lord, lets fight with gentle words,
Till time lend friends, and friends their helpfull swords,

King Oh God, oh God that ere this tongue of mine,
That laid the sentence of dread banishment
On yon proud man should take it off againe,
With words of sooth! Oh that I were as great,

King Richard the second.

As is my griefe, or lesser then my name!
Or that I could forget what I haue beene!
Or not remember what I must be now!
Swell ft thou (prowde heart) Ile giue thee scope to beate,
Since foes haue scope to beate both thee and me.

Aw. Northumberland comes backe from Bullingbrook.

King What must the King doe now? must he submit?
The King shall doe it: must he be despised?
The King shall be contented: must he loose
The name of a King? a Gods name let it goe:
Ile giue my jewels for a set of Beades:
My gorgeous Pallace for a hermitage:
My gay apparell for an almes-mans gowne:
My figurd goblets for a dish of wood:
My Scepter for a Palmers walking staffe:
My subiects for a payre of carued Saints,
And my large kingdome for a little graue,
A little little graue, an obscure graue,
Or ile be buried in the kings hie way,
Some way of common trade, where subiects feete
May houely trample on their Soueraignes head;
For on my heart they treade now whilst I liue:
And buried once, why not vpon my head?
Aumerle, thou weepst (my tender-hearted coosin)
Weele make foule weather with despised teares;
Our sighs and they shall lodge the Summer corne,
And make a dearth in this reuolting land:
Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,
And make some pretty match with sheading teares,
And thus to drop them still vpon one place,
Till they haue fretted vs a payre of graues
Within the earth: and therein layde; there lies
Two kinsmen digd their graues with weeping eyes?
Would not this ill doe well? well well I see,
I talke but idly, and you laugh at me.
Most mighty Prince, my Lord Northumberland,
What saies king Bullingbrooke, will his Maestie
Giue Richard leaue to liue till Richard die.

The Tragedie of

You make a leg, and Bullingbrooke saies I.

North. My Lord, in the base court he doth attend,
To speake with you, may it please you to come downe.

King. Downe, downe I come, like glistering Phaeton,
Wanting the manage of vnrulie Iades.

In the base court, base court where Kings growe base,
To come at traitors calls, and do them grace.

In the base court come downe: downe court, downe King,
For night-owles threeke where mounting larkes should sing.

Bull. What saies his maiestie?

North. Sorrow and grieve of hart,
Makes him speake fondly like a frantike man:
Yet he is come.

Bull. Stand all apart,
And shew faire duety to his Maiestie: *(he kneeles downe.*
My gracious Lord.

King. Faire coosen, you debase your princely knee,
To make the base earth proud with kissing it:
Me rather had my hart might feele your loue,
Then my vnpleased eie see your curtesie:
Vp coosen vp, your hart is vp I knowe,
Thus high at least, although your knee be lowe.

Bull. My gracious Lord, I come but for mine owne.

King. Your owne is yours, and I am yours and all.

Bull. So far be mine, my most redoubted Lord,
As my true seruice shall deserue your loue.

King. Well you deserue: they well deserue to haue,
That know the strong'st and surest way to get:
Vncle giue me your handes, nay drie your eies,
Teares shew their loue, but want their remedies.
Coosen, I am too young to be your Father,
Though you are old enough to be heyre,
What you will haue, ile giue, and willing to:
For doe we must, what force will haue vs doe:
Set on: towards London, Cosen is it so?

Bull. Yea my good Lord:

King. Then I must not say no.

Quee. What sport shall we deuise here in this garden,

*Enter the
Queene with
her atten-
dants.*

To

King Richard the second.

To driue away the heauie thought of care?

Lady Madam weele play at bowles.

Queene T will make me thinke the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the bias.

Lady Madam weele daunce.

Queene My legs can keepe no measure in delight,
When my poore heart no measure keepes in griefe:

Therefore no dauncing girle, some other sport,

Lady Madam weele tel tales,

Quee. Of sorrow or of griefe?

Lady Of either Madame.

Quee. Of neither girle,

For if of ioy, being altogether wanting,

It doth remember me the more of sorrow:

Or if of griefe, being altogether had,

It addes more sorrow to my want of ioy:

For what I haue I neede not to reapeate,

And what I want it bootes not to complaine.

Lady Madam ile sing.

Quee. Tis well that thou hast cause,
But thou shouldst please me better wouldst thou weepe.

Lady I could weepe Madame, would it do you good.

Quee. And I could sing would weeping do me good?
And neuer borrow any teare of thee.

But stay, here commeth the gardeners,

Lets step into the shadow of these trees, *Enter Gardiners.*

My wretchednesse vnto a row of pines.

They will talke of state, for euerie one doth so,

Against a change woe is fore-runne with woe.

Gard. Go bind thou vp yon dangling Apricocks,

Which like vnrule children make their fire

Stoope with oppression of their prodigall weight:

Giue some supportance to the bending twigs,

Go thou, and like an executioner

Cut off the heads of two fast growing sprays,

That looke too loftie in our common-wealth:

All must be euen in our gouernement.

You thus imployd, I will go roote away

The Tragedie of

The noysome weedes that without profit sucke
The soiles fertility from wholesome flowers.

Man. Why should we in the compasse of a pale,
Keepelaw and forme, and due proportion,
Shewing in a model our firme estate,
When our feat walled garden, the whole land
Is full of weedes, her fairest flowers choakt vp,
Her fruit trees all vnpruind, her hedges ruind,
Her knots disordered, and her holesome heales
Swarming with caterpillers:

Gard. Hold thy peace,
He that hath suffered this disordered spring,
Hath now himselfe met with the fall of leafe:
The weedes that his broade spreading leaues did shelter,
That seemde in eating him, to hold him vp,
Are puld vp, roote and all, by Bullingbrooke:
I meane the Earle of Wiltshire, Bushie, Greene.

Man. What are they dead?

Gard. They are,
And Bullingbrooke hath seized the wastefull King.
Oh what pittie it is, that he had not so trimde
And dressed his lands as we this garden, at time of yeere
Do wound the barke, the skinne of our fruite trees,
Left being ouer-prowd with sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound it selfe.
Had he done so, to great and growing men,
They might haue laude to beare, and he to taste
Their fruites of dutie: superfluous branches
We lop away, that bearing boughes may liue:
Had he done so, himselfe had borne the Crowne,
Which waste of idle houres hath quite throwne downe.

Man. What, thinke you the king shall be disposed?

Gard. Deprest he is already, and depolde
Tis doubt he will be, Letters came last night
To a deare friend of the Duke of Yorks,
That tell blacke tidings.

Queen. Oh! I am preest to death through want of speaking
Thou old Adams likenesse set to dresse this garden,

How

King Richard the second.

How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this vnpleasing news?
What Eue? what serpent hath suggested thee,
To make a second fall of cursed man?
Why dost thou say King Richard is depofde?
Dartst thou thou little better thing then earth
Diuine his downefall? Say, where, when and how
Camst thou by this ill tidings? speake thou wretch.

Gard. Pardon me Madam, little ioy haue I
To breathe these newes, yet what I say is true:
King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
Of Bullingbrooke: their fortunes both are weyde.
In your Lo. scale is nothing but himfelfe,
And fome few vanities that make him light:
But in the ballance of great Bullingbrooke,
Besides himfelfe, are all the English Peeres,
And with that oddes he weighes King Richard downe.
Post you to London, and you will finde it so,
I speake no more then euerie one doth know.

Queene Nimble Mifchance, that art so light of foote,
Dost not thy embassage belong to me,
And am I last that knowes it? Oh thou thinkest
To serue me last, that I may longest keepe
Thy sorrow in my brest: come Ladies, go
To meete at London Londons King in wo.
What, was I borne to this, that my sad looke,
Should grace the triumph of great Bullingbrooke?
Gardner for telling me these newes of woe,
Pray God the plants thou grafst may neuer grow. *Exit.*

Gard. Poore Queene, so that thy state might beno worse,
I would my skill were subiect to thy curse:
Heere did she drop a teare, heere in this place
He set a banke of Rew (owe hearbe of grace,
Rew euen for ruth heere shortly shall be seene,
In remembrance of a weeping Queene.

Bull. Call forth Bagot,
Now Bagot, freely speake thy minde,
What thou dost know of noble Glocesters death,
Who wrought it with the King, and who performe

Exeunt.
Enter Bagot.

The Tragedie of

The bloudie office of his timelesse end.

Bagot Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

Bull. Coosin, stand forth, and looke vpon that man.

Bagot My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue
Scornes to vn say what once it hath deliuered:
In that dead time when Glocesters death was plotted,
I heard you say, is not my arme of length,
That reacheth from the restfull English court
As far as Callice to mine Vnckles head?
Amongst much other talke, that verie time
I heard you say, that you had rather refuse
The offer of an hundred thousand Crownes,
Then Bullingbrookes returne to England, adding withall,
How blest this land would be in this your Coosins death.

Aum. Princes and noble Lords,
What answer shall I make to this base man?
Shall I so much dishonour my faire stars,
On equall termes to giue him chasticement?
Either I must, or haue mine honour soild
With the attainder of his slaunderous lips:
There is my gage, the manuell scale of death,
That markes thee out for hell: thou liest,
And will maintaine what thou hast said is false,
In thy heart bloud, though being all too base
To staine the temper of my knightly sword.

Bull. Bagot, forbear, thou shalt not take it vp.

Aum. Excepting one, I would he were the best
In all this prefence that hath mooued me so.

Fitz. If that thy valure stand on simparchie,
There is my gage Aumerle, in gage to thine;
By that faire sunne that shewes me where thou standst,
I heard thee say, and wantingly thou spakst it,
That thou wert cause of noble Glocesters death:
If thou deniest it twentie times, thou liest,
And I will turne thy falshood to thy heart,
Where it was forged with my rapiers point.

Aum. Thou darst not (coward) liue I to see the day.

Fitz. Now by my soule, I would it were this houre.

Aum.

King Richard the second.

Anm. Fitzwaters, thou art damnd to hell for this.

L. Per. Aumerle, thou liest, his honour is as true,
In this appeale, as thou art all vniust,

And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,
To proue it on thee to the extreamest poynt
Of mortall breathing, seize it if thou dar'st.

Anm. And if I do not, may my hands rot off,
And neuer brandish more reuengefull Steele
Ouer the glittering helmet of my foe.

Another L. I take the earth to the like (forsworne Aumerle,)
And spur thee on with full as many lies,
As it may be hollowed in thy trecherous eare
From sinne to sinne: there is my honors pawne,
Ingage it to the tryall if thou dar'st.

Anm. Who sets me else? by heauen Ile throw at all.
I haue a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twentie thousand such as you.

Swr. My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember well
The verie time Aumerle and you did talke.

Fitz. Tis very true, your were in presence then,
And you can witnesse with me this is true.

Swr. As false by heauen, as heauen it selfe is true.

Fitz. Surrie thou liest.

Swr. Dishonourable boy, that ly shally so heauie on my sword
That it shall render vengeance and reuenge,
Till thou the lie-giuer, and that lie do lie
In earth as quiet as thy fathers scull.
In prooffe whereof there is mine honors pawne,
Ingage it to the tryall if thou dar'st.

Fitz. How fondly dost thou spur a forward horse,
If I dare eate, or drinke, or breathe, or liue,
I dare meete Surry in a wildernesse,
And spit vpon him whilst I say he lies,
And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,
To tie thee to my strong correction:
As I intend to thrue in this new world,
Aumerle is guilty of my true appeale.
Besides, I heard the banished Norfolke say,

That

The Tragedie of

That thou *Aumerle* didst send two of thy men,
To execute the noble Duke of *Calice*.

Aum. Some honest christian trust me with a gage,
That *Norfolk* lies, heere doe I throwe downe this,
If he may be repeald to trie his honour.

Bull. These differences shall all rest vnder gage;
Till *Norfolk* be repeald, repeald he shall be,
And though mine enemy, restor'd againe
To all his lands and signiories; when he is return'd,
Against *Aumerle* we will inforce his triall.

Carl. That honorable day shall never be seenes
Many a time hath banisht *Norfolk* fought,
For Iesu Christ in glorious christian field,
Streaming the ensigne of the christian Crosse,
Against blacke Pagans, Turkes and Saracens,
And toild with workes of warre, retir'd himselfe
To *Italy*, and there at *Venice* gaue
His body to a pleasant countries earth,
And his pure soule vnto his captaine Christ,
Vnder whose colours he had fought so long.

Bull. Why Bishop, is *Norfolk* dead?

Carl. As sure as I liue, my Lord.

Bull. Sweete peace conduct his sweete soule to the bosome
Of good olde *Abraham*: Lords Appellants,
Your differences shall all rest vnder gage,
Till we assigne you to your dayes of triall. *Enter Yorke.*

Yorke Great Duke of Lancaster I come to thee,
From plume-pluckt *Richard*, who with willing soule
Adopts thee heire, and his high Scepter yeeldes,
To the possession of thy royall hand:
Ascend his throne, descending now from him,
And long liue *Henry* fourth of that name.

Bull. In Gods name, Ile ascend the regall throne.

Carl. Mary God forbid.

Worst in this royall presence I may speake:
Yet best bebecoming me to speake the truth:
Would God any in this noble presence,
Were enough noble to be vpright Iudge

King Richard the second.

Of noble Richard : Then true noblenesse would
Learne him forbearance from so foule a wrong.
What subiect can giue sentence on his King?
And who sits not here that is not Richards subiect?
Theeues are not iudged, but they are by to heare,
Although apparant guilt be seene in them:
And shall the figure of Gods Maiestie,
His Captaine, steward, deputy, elect,
Annoynted, crowned, planted many yeeres,
Be iudg'd by subiect and inferior breath,
And he himselfe not present? Oh forfend it God,
That in a Christian Climate soules refinde
Should shew so hainous blacke obscene a deed.
I speake to subiects, and a subiect speakes,
Stir'd vp by God thus boldly for his King.
My Lord of Hereford here whom you call King,
Is a foule traitour to prowde Herefords King,
And if you crowne him, let me prophesie,
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groane for his foule act,
Peace shall goe sleepe with Turkes and infidels,
And in this seate of peace, tumultuous wars
Shall kin with kin, and kinde with kinde confound :
Disorder, horror, feare and mutiny,
Shall here inhabit, and this land be cald,
The field of Golgotha and dead mens skuls.
Oh if you rayse this house against his house,
It will the wofullest diuision proue,
That euer fell vpon this cursed earth :
Preuent it, resist it, and let it not be so,
Lest child, childs children crie against you woe.

North. Well haue you argued Sir, and for your paynes,
Of Capitall treason, we arrest you here:
My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge,
To keepe him safely till his day of triall.

Bul. Let it be so, and loe on wednesday next,
We solemnely proclaime our Coronation,
Lords be ready all.

H

*Exeunt.
Abbot.*

The Tragedie of

*Manet West.
Carleil, Au-
merle.*

Abbot A wofull Pageant haue we heere beheld.

Carl. The woe's to come, the children yet vnborne
Shall feele this day as sharpe to them as thorne.

Aum. You holy Clergy men, is there no plot,
To rid the realme of this pernicious blot?

Abbot Before I freely speake my minde heerein,
You shall not onely take the Sacrament,
To bury mine intents, but also to effect,
What euer I shall happen to deuise:
I see your browes are full of discontent,
Your heart of sorrow, and your eyes of teares:
Come home with me to supper, Ile lay a plot,
Shall shew vs all a merry day. *Exeunt.*

*Enter Queene
with her at-
endants.*

Queene This way the King will come, this is the way
To *Iulius Caesars* ill erected tower,
To whose flint bosome my condemned Lord
Is doomde a prisoner by prowde Bullingbrooke.
Heere let vs rest, if this rebellious earth
Haue any resting for her true Kings *Queene.* *enter Rich.*

But soft, but see, or rather, doe not see,
My faire Rose wither: yet looke vp, behold,
That you in pittie may dissolue to deaw,
And wash him fresh againe with true loue teares.
Ah thou the modell where olde *Troy* did stand!
Thou mappe of Honour, thou king *Richards* toombe,
And not king *Richard*: thou most beauteous Inne,
Why should hard fauourd griefe be lodged in thee,
When triumph is become an *Alchouse* guest?

Rich. Ioyne not with griefe, faire woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden, learne good soule,
To thinke our former state a happy dreame,
From which awakt, the trueth of what we are
Shews vs but this: I am sworne (brother sweete)
To grim Necessitie, and he and I
Will keepe a league till death. Hie thee to *France*,
And cloister thee in some religious house:
Our holy lues must winne a new worlds crowne,
Which our prophane houres heere haue throwne downe.

Queene

King Richard the second.

Queene What is my *Richard* both in shape and mind
Transformd and weakned? hath *Bullingbrooke*
Deposde thine intellectu? hath he beene in thy heart?
The *Lyon* dying thrusteth forth his pawe,
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage,
To be o're-powerd, and wilt thou Pupill-like
Take thy correction, mildely kisse the rod,
And fawne on Rage with base humilitie,
Which art a *Lion* and a king of beasts.

King A king of beasts indeede, if aught but beast,
I had beene still a happy king of men.
Good (sometime *Queene*) prepare thee hence for *France*,
Thinke I am dead, and that euen heere thou takest
As from my death-bed my last liuing leaue.
In winters tedious nights sitte by the fire
With good olde folkes, and let them tell thee tales,
Of woefull ages long agoe betide,
And ere thou bid good night, to quite their griefe,
Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,
And send the hearers weeping to their beds:
For why, the senslesse brandes will sympathy
The heavy accent of thy mouing tongue,
And in compassion weepe the fire out,
And some will mourne in ashes, some cole blacke,
For the deposing of a rightfull king. *Enter Northumb.*

North. My Lord, the mind of *Bullingbrooke* is changde,
You must to *Pomfret*, not vnto the *Tower*:
And Madam, there is order tane for you,
With all swift speede you must away to *France*.

King Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithall
The mounting *Bullingbrooke* ascendes my throne,
The time shall not be many houres of age
More then it is, ere foule sinne gathering head
Shall breake into corruption, thou shalt thinke,
Though he diuide the Realme, and giue thee halfe,
It is too little, helping him to all:
He shall thinke, that thou which knowst the way
To plant vnrightfull kings, wilt know againe,

The Tragedie of

Being nere so little vrgd another way,
To plucke him headlong from the vsurped throne.
The loue of wicked men conuerts to feare,
That feare to hate, and hate turnes one or both
To worthy danger and deserued death.

North. My guilt be on my head, and there an end:
Take leaue and part, for you must part forthwith.

King Doubly diuorc't, (badde men) you violate
A twofold marriage, betwixt my Crowne and me,
And then betwixt me and my married wife.
Let me vnkisse the oath betwixt thee and me:
And yet not so, for with a kisse t'was made,
Part vs Northumberland, I towards the North,
Where shiuering cold and sicknesse pines the clime:
My wife to France, from whence set forth in pompe,
She came adorned hither like sweete May,
Sent backe like Hollowmas, or shortst of day.

Queene And must we be diuided? must we part?

King I, hand from hand (my loue) and heart from heart.

Queene Banish vs both, and send the King with me.

King That were some loue, but little policie.

Queene Then whither he goes, thither let me goe.

King So two together weeping make one woe,

Weepe for me in France, I for thee here,
Better farre off then neere be nere the neere:
Goe count thy way with sighes, I mine with groanes.

Queene So longest way shall haue the longest moanes,

King Twife for one step Ile groane, the way being short,
And piece the way out with a heauie heart.

Come, come, in wooing sorrow lets be brieve,
Since wedding it, there is such length in grieve:
One kisse shall stoppe our mouthes, and doubly part,
Thus giue I mine, and thus take I thy heart:

Queene Giue me mine owne againe, twere no good part,
To take on me to keepe, and kill thy heart:
So now I haue mine owne againe, be gone,
That I may strue to kill it with a groane,

King We make woe wanton with this fond delay,

Once

King Richard the second.

Once more adew, the rest let sorrow say.

exennt.

Du. My Lord, you told me you would tell therest,
When weeping made you breake the story
Of our two Coosins coming into London.

Enter Duke
of Yorke and
the Dutchesse

Yorke. Where did I leaue?

Du. At that sad stop my Lord,
Where rude misgouern'd handes from windowes tops,
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richards head.

Yorke Then (as I sayd) the Duke great Bullingbrooke,
Mounted vpon a hote and fierie steede,
Which his aspiring rider seemde to know,
With slow, but stately pace kept on his course,
While all tongues cride, God saue the Bullingbrooke,
You would haue thought the verie windowes spake:
So many greedie lookes of yong and old,
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Vpon his visage, and that all the wals,
With painted imagery had sayd at once,
Iesu preserue the welcome Bullingbrooke,
Whilst he from the one side to the other turning
Bare-headed, lower then his proud steeds necke
Bespake them thus, I thanke you countrymen:
And thus still doing, thus he pass't along.

Du. Alacke poore Richard, where rides he the whilst?

Yorke As in a Theater the eyes of men,
After a wel graced Actor leaues the stage,
Are idly bent on him that enters next,
Thinking his prattle to be tedious:
Euen so, or with much more contempt mens eyes
Did scoule on gentle Richard, no man cried, God saue him,
No ioyfull tongue gaue him his welcome home,
But dust was throwne vpon his sacred head,
Which with such gentle sorrow he shooke off,
His face still combating with teares and smiles,
The badges of his griefe and patience,
That had not God for some strong purpose steeld
The hearts of men, they must perforce haue melted,
And Barbarisme it selfe haue pittied him:

The Tragedie of

But heauen hath a hand in these euent,
To whose hie will wee bound our calme contents,
To Bullingbrooke are we sworne subiects now,
Whose state and honour I for ay allow.

Du. Here comes my sonne Aumerle.

Yorke Aumerle that was,
But that is lost, for being Richards friend:
And Madam, you must call him Rutland now:
I am in parliament pledge for his truth
And lasting fealme to the newe made King.

Du. Welcome my sonne, who are the violets now
That strew the greene lappe of the new come spring.

Aum. Madam I know not, nor I greatly care not,
God knowes I had as lief be none as one.

Yorke Well, beare you well in this new spring of time,
Least you be cropt before you come to prime.
What newes from Oxford, do these iusts and triumphs hold?

Aum. For aught I know (my Lord) they do.

Yorke You will be there I know.

Aum. If God preuent not I purpose so.

Yorke What seale is that that hangs without thy bosome?
Yea, lookst thou pale? let me see the writing.

Aum. My Lord, tis nothing.

Yorke No matter then who see it,
I will be satisfied, let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech your grace to pardon me,
It is a matter of small consequence,
Which for some reasons I would not haue seene.

Yorke Which for some reasons, sir I meane to see.
I feare, I feare.

Du. What should you feare?
Tis nothing but some band that he is entred into
For gay apparrell against the triumph.

Yorke Bound to himselfe, what doth hee with a bond
That he is bound to. Wife, thou art a foole,
Boy, let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech you pardon me, I may not shew it.

Yorke I will be satisfied, let me see it I say:

Yorke

King Richard the second.

Yorke Treason, foule treason, villaine, traitor, Haue.

Du. What is the matter my Lord?

Yorke Ho, who is within there? saddle my horse,
God for his mercy! what trechery is here?

Du. Why, what is it my Lord?

Yorke Giue me my bootes I say, saddle my horse,
Now by mine honour, my life, my troth,
I will appeach the villaine.

Du. What is the matter?

Yorke Peace foolish woman.

Du. I will not peace, what is the matter Aumerle?

Aum. Good mother be content, it is no more

Then my poore life must answer.

Du. Thy life answer?

Yorke Bring me my bootes, I will vnto the King.

Du. Strike him Aumerle, poore boy thou art amazd,
Hence villaine, neuer more come in my fight.

Yorke Giue me my bootes I say.

Du. Why Yorke what wilt thou do?

Wilt not thou hide the trespassse of thine owne?

Haue we more sonnes? or are we like to haue?

Is not my teeming date drunke vp with time?

And wilt thou plucke my faire sonne from mine age?

And robbe mee of a happie mothers name,

Is he not like thee? is he not thine owne?

Yorke Thou fond mad woman,
Wilt thou conceale this darke conspiracie?

A doozen of them here haue tane the sacrament,

And interchangeably set downe their hands,

To kill the King at Oxford.

Du. He shall be none, weele keepe him here,
Then what is that to him?

Yorke Away fond woman, were he twentie times my sonne,
I would appeach him.

Du. Hadst thou groand for him as I haue done,
Thou wouldst be more pittfull:

But now I know thy minde, thou dost suspect
That I haue beene disloyall to thy bed,

He plucks it
out of his
bosome and
reade it.

His man en-
ters with
his bootes.

And

The Tragedie of

And that he is a bastard, not thy sonne:
Sweete Yorke, sweete husband be not of that minde,
He is as like thee as a man may be,
Not like me or any of my kinne,
And yet I loue him.

Torke Make way vnruely woman. *Exit.*

Du. After Aumerle: mount thee vpon his horse,
Spur, post, and get before him to the King,
And beg thy pardon, ere he do accuse thee,
Ile not be long behind, though I be old,
I doubt not but to ride as fast as Yorke,
And neuer will I rise vp from the ground,
Till Bullingbrooke haue pardoned thee, away, be gone.

Enter the king with his nobles *King H.* Can no man tell me of my vnthrifue sonne?

*T*is full three moneths since I did see him last;
If any plague hang ouer vs tis hee,
I would to God my Lords, he might be found:
Inquire at London, amongst the Tauernes there,
For there they say, he daily doth frequent,
With vnrestrained loose companions,
Euen such (they say) as stand in narrow lanes,
And beate our watch, and robbe our passengers,
Which he yong wanton and effeminate boy,
Takes on the point of honor to support so dissolute a crew.

H. Percie My Lord, some two daies since I saw the Prince,
And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford.

King And what said the gallant?

Percie His answere was, he would to the stewes,
And from the commonest creature plucke a gloue,
And weare it as a fauour, and with that
He would vnhorse the lustiest Challenger.

King H. As dissolute as desperate, yet through both
I see some sparkles of better hope, which elder yeares
May happily bring forth. But who comes here?

Enter Aumerle amazed

Aum. Where is the King? *(so wildly.)*

King H. What meanes our coosin that he stares and lookes

Aum. God saue your grace, I do beseech your maiestie,
To haue some conference with your grace alone.

King

King Richard the second.

King Withdrawe your selues, and leave vs heere alone:
What is the matter with our coslin now?

Aum. For euer may my knees growe to the earth,
My tongue cleaue to my roose within my mouth,
Vnlesse a pardon ere I rise or speake.

King Intended, or committed, was this fault?
If on the first, how heynous ere it be,
To winne thy after loue, I pardon thee.

Aum. Then giue me leaue that I may turne the key,
That no man enter till my tale be done.

King Haue thy desire.

Torke My liege beware, looke to thy selfe,
Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there.

King Villaine, Ile make thee safe.

Au. Stay thy reuengefull hand, thou hast no cause to feare. The Duke of

Torke Open the doore, secure foole, hardy King,
Shall I for loue speake treason to thy face?
Open the doore, or I wil breake it open.

Yorke knocks
at the doore,
and cryeth.

King What is the matter vncke, speake, recouer breath,
Tel vs, how neere is danger,
That we may arme vs to encounter it?

Torke Peruse this writing here, and thou shalt know,
The treason that my haste forbids me shew.

Aum. Remember as thou read'st, thy promise past,
I doe repent me, reade not my name there,
My heart is not confederate with my hand.

Torke It was (villaine) ere thy hand did set it downe:
It tore it from the traitors bosome (King)
Feare, and not loue, begets his penitence:
Forget to pittie him, lest thy pittie proue
A serpent, that wil sting thee to the heart.

King O heynous, strong, and bolde conspiracy!
O loyall father of a treacherous sonne!
Thou sheere immaculate and siluer Fountaine,
From whence this streame through muddy passages
Hath hald his current, and defilde himselfe:
Thy ouerflow of good conuerts to bad,
And thy abundant goodnes shall excuse

The Tragedie of

This deadly blot in thy digressing sonne.

Yor. So shall my vertue, be his vices baude,
And he shall spend mine honour, with his shame,
As thrifles sonnes, their scraping Fathers gold :
Mine honour liues when his dishonour dies,
Or my shame life in his dishonour lies :
Thou killst me in his life giuing him breath,
The traitor liues, the true man's put to death.

Du. What ho, my Liège, for Gods sake let me in.

King H. What shrill voic'd suppliant makes this eger crie ?

Du. A woman, and thy aunt (great king) tis I,
Speake with me, pitie me, open the doore,
A beggar begs that neuer begd before.

King. Our scene is altered from a serious thing,
And now changde to the Beggar and the King :
My dangerous cousin, let your mother in,
I know she is come to pray for your soule sinne.

Yorke. If thou do pardon whosoever pray,
More sinnes for this forgiuenes prosper may :
This festred ioynt cut off, the rest rest sound,
This let alone will all the rest confound.

Du. Oh king, belecue not this hard-hearted man :
Lone louing not it selfe, none other can.

Yorke. Thou frantike woman, what dost thou make here ?
Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor reare ?

Du. Sweete Yorke be patient, heare me gentle Liege.

King H. Rise vp good aunt.

Du. Not yet I thee beseech.

For euer will I walke vpon my knees,
And neuer see day that the happy sees,
Till thou giue ioy, vntill thou bid me ioy,
By pardoning Rutland my transgressing boy.

Aun. Vnto my mothers prayers I bend my knee :

Yorke. Against them both my true ioynts bended be,
Ill mayst thou thrive if thou graunt any grace.

Du. Pleadeth he in earnest ? looke vpon his face.
His eies do drop no teares, his prayers are in iest,
His words do come from his mouth, ours from our breast,

He

King Richard the second.

He prayes but faintly, and would be denide,
We pray with heart and soule, and all besides:
His weary ioynts would gladly rise I know,
Our knees still kneele till to the ground they grow:
His prayers are full of false hypocrisie,
Ours of true zeale and deepe integritie:
Our prayers do out-pray his, then let them haue
That mercy which true prayer ought to haue.

King Good Aunt stand vp.

Du. Nay, do not say, stand vp;
Say pardon first, and afterwards stand vp,
And if I were thy nurse thy tongue to teach,
Pardon should be the first word of thy speech:
I neuer longd to heare a word till now,
Say pardon king, let pitie teach thee how:
The word is short, but not so short as sweete,
No word like pardon for kings mouthes so meete.

Torke Speake it in French, King say, *Pardonne moy.*

Du. Dost thou teach pardon? pardon to destroy:
Ah my sowre husband, my hard hearted Lord!
That sets the word it selfe against the word;
Speake pardon as tis currant in our land,
The chopping French we do not vnderstand:
Thine eie begins to speake, set thy tongue there,
Or in thy piteous heart, plant thou thine eare,
That hearing how our plaints and prayers doe pierce,
Pitie may moue thee pardon to rehearse.

King H. Good aunt stand vp.

Du. I doe not see to stand.
Pardon is all the fute I haue in hand.

King I pardon him as God shall pardon me.

Du. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee.
Yet am I sicke for feare, speake it againe,
Twice saying pardon, doth not pardon twaine,
But makes one pardon strong.

King H. I pardon him with all my heart,

Du. A god on earth thou art.

King H. But for our trusty brother in law and the Abbot,

The Tragedie of

With all the rest of that consoorted crew,
Destruction strait shall dog them at the heeles.
Good vncle, help to order feuerall powers
To Oxford, or where ere these traitours are,
They shall not liue within this world I sweare,
But I will haue them, if I once know where.
Vncle farewell, and coosin adue,
Your mother well hath prayed, and prooue you true.

Du. Come my olde sonne, I pray God make thee new.

Exton Didst thou not marke the K. what words he spake?
Haue I no friend wil rid me of this liuing feare?
Was it not so?

Man. These were his very wordes.

Exunt.

Manet Sir
Pierce Exton
&c.

Exton Haue I no friend quoth he? he spake it twice,
And vrgde it twice together, did he not?

Man. He did.

Exton And speaking it, he wistly lookt on me,
As who should say, I would thou wert the man,
That would diuorce this terror from my heart,
Meaning the King at *Pomfret*. Come, lets go,
I am the Kings friend, and will rid his foe.

Enter Ri-
chard alone.

Rich. I haue beene studying how to compare
This prison where I liue, vnto the world:
And for because the world is populous,
And heere is not a creature but my selfe,
I cannot doe it: yet Ile hammer it out:
My braine Ile prooue the female to my soule,
My soule the father, and these two beget
A generation of still-breeding thoughts:
And these same thoughts people this little world,
In humours like the people of this world:
For no thought is contented: the better sort,
As thoughts of things diuine are intermixt
With scruples, and do set the word it selfe
Against thy word, as thus: Come little ones, and then againe,
It is as hard to come as for a Cammell
To threed the small posterne of a small needles eye:
Thoughts tending to ambition they doe plot

King Richard the second.

Vnlikely wonders : how these vaine weake nayles
May teare a passage thorow the flinty ribs
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walles:
And for they cannot die in their owne pride,
Thoughts tending to content, flatter themselues,
That they are not the first of fortunes slaues,
Nor shall not be the last, like scely beggars;
Who sitting in the stocks, refuge their shame,
That many haue, and others must sit there.
And in this thought they finde a kinde of ease,
Bearing their owne misfortunes on the backe
Of such as haue before indurde the like.
Thus play I in one prison many people,
And none contented; sometimes am I a King,
Then treasons make me with my selfe a beggar,
And so I am: then crushing penurie
Perswades me I was better when a King,
Then am I a king againe, and by and by,
Thinke that I am vnkingde by Bullingbrooke,
And strait am nothing. But what ere I be,
Nor I, nor any man, that but man is,
With nothing shall be please, till he be easde,
With being nothing. Musicke do I heare, *the musicke plaies.*
Ha ha, keepe time, how sowe sweete musicke is,
When time is broke, and no proportion kept;
So is it in the musicke of mens liues :
And here haue I the daintinesse of eare
To checke time broke in disordered string:
But for the concord of my state and time,
Had not an eare to heare my true time broke,
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me:
For now hath time made his numbring clockes;
My thoughts are minutes, and with sighes they iarre,
Their watches on vnto mine eyes the outward watch
Whereto my finger like a dialles poynt
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from teares.
Now sir, the found that tells what houre it is,
Are clamorous groanes, which strike vpon my heart,
Which is the bell: so sighes, and teares, and groanes,

The Tragedie of

Shew minutes, times, and houres : but my time
Runnes posting on in Bullingbrookes prowd ioy,
While I stand fooling heere his iacke of the clocke:
This musicke maddes me, let it sound no more,
For though it haue holpe mad men to their witts,
In me it seemes it will make wise men mad:
Yet blessing on his heart that giues it me,
For tis a signe of loue : and loue to Richard,
Is a strange brooch in this al-hating world.

*Enter a Groome
of the stable.*

Groome. Haile royall Prince.

Rich. Thanks noble peare:

The cheapeit of vs is ten groats too deare,
What art thou, and how comest thou hither,
Where no man neuer comes but that sad dog,
That brings me food to make misfortune hue?

Groome. I was a poore groom of thy stable King,
When thou wert King : who traueiling towards Yorke,
With much adoe (at length) haue gotten leaue,
To looke vpon my sometimes royall masters face:
Oh how it ernd my heart, when I beheld
In London streetes that Coronation day,
When Bullingbrooke rode on Roane Barbarie,
That horse, that thou so often hast bestride,
That horse, that I so carefully haue drest.

Rich. Rode he on Barbarie, tell me gentle friend,
How went he vnder him?

Groome. So prowdly, as if he disdaine the ground.

Rich. So prowd that Bullingbrooke was on his backe:
That Iade hath eate bread from my royall hand;
This hand hath made him prowd with clapping him:
Would he not stumble? would he not fall downe?
Since pride must haue a fall, and breake the necke
Of that prowd man, that did vsurpe his backe?
Forgiuenes horse, why doe I rayle on thee?
Since thou created to be awde by man,
Wast borne to beare, I was not made a horse,
And yet I beare a burthen like an asse,
Spurde, galld, and tyrde by iauncing Bullingbrooke.

Keeper Fellow giue place, here is no longer stay.

Rich.

King Richard the second.

Rich. If thou loue me, tis time thou wert away.

Groome What my tongue dar's not, that my heart shal say. *Enter one to Richard with meat.*

Keeper My Lord, wilt please you to fall to?

Rich. Taste of it first, as thou art wont to do.

Keeper My Lord I dare not, sir Pierce of Exton,
Who lately came from the King, commands the contrary.

Rich. The diuell take Henry of Lancaster, and thee,
Patience is stale, and I am weary of it.

Exit groome.

Keeper Helpe, helpe, helpe.

Rich. How now, what meanes Death in this rude assault?

The murderers rush in.

Villaine thy owne hand yeelds thy deaths instrument,

Goe thou and fill another roome in hell.

Rich. That hand shall burne in neuer quenching fire,

Here Exton strikes him down.

That staggers thus my person: Exton, thy fierce hand

Hath with the kings blood stained the kings owne land,

Mount, mount my soule, thy seate is vp on hie,

Whilst my grosse flesh sinkes downward here to die.

Exton As full of valure, as of royall blood:

Both haue I spild, Oh would the deed were good!

For now the diuell that told me I did well,

Saies that this deed is chronicled in hell:

This dead king to the liuing king ile beare,

Take hence the rest, and giue them buriall here.

King Kind vnckle Yorke, the latest newes we heare,

Enter Bullingbrooke with the Duke of Yorke.

Is, that the rebels haue consumed with fire

Our towne of Ciceter in Gloucestershire:

But whether they be tane or slaine, we heare not;

Welcome my Lord, what is the newes?

North. First to thy sacred state wish I all happinesse,

Enter Northumberland.

The next newes is, I haue to London sent,

The heads of Oxford, Salisburie, and Kent:

The manner of their taking may appeare

At large discoursed in this paper here.

King We thanke thee gentle Percie for thy paynes,

And to thy worth will adde right worthie gaines.

Fitz. My Lord, I haue from Oxford sent to London,

Enter Lorde Fitzwaters.

The heads of Broccas, and sir Benet Seely,

Two of the dangerous consorted traitours,

That fought at Oxford thy dire ouerthrow,

King.

The Tragedie of

King Thy paines Fitz: shall not be forgot,
Right noble is thy merit well I wot.

Enter Henry
Percie. *Percie* The grand conspirator *Abbot of Westminster,*

With clogge of conscience and sowre melancholie,
Hath yeelded vp his body to the graue:
But here is *Carleil* liuing, to abide
Thy kingly doome, and sentence of his pride.

King *Carleil*, this is your doome,
Chuse out some secret place, some reuerend roome
More then thou hast, and with it ioy thy life,
So as thou hast in peace, die free from strife:
For though mine enemy thou hast euer beene,
High sparkes of honour in thee haue I seene.

Enter Exton
with the coffin.

Exton Great King, within this coffin I present
Thy buried feare: heerein all breathlesse lies
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
Richard of Burdeaux, by me hither brought.

King *Exton*, I thanke thee not, for thou hast wrought
A deede of slaughter with thy fatal hand,
Vpon my head, and all this famous land.

Exton From your owne mouth, my Lo: did I this deede.

King They loue not poison that do poison neede,
Nor doe I thee, though I did with him dead,
I hate the murtherer, loue him murthered:
The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
But neither my good word, nor princely fauour:
With *Caine* goe wander through the shade of night,
And neuer shew thy head by day nor light.
Lords, I protest my soule is full of woe,
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow:
Come mourne with me, for what I doe lament,
And put on sullen blacke incontinent:
He make a voyage to the Holy land,
To wash this blood off from my guilty hand.
March sadly after, grace my mournings heere,
In weeping after this vntimely Beere.

FINIS.

